"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, mostly sunny skies with less haze, high 67. **Tonight,** skies are expected to remain clear, low 53. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny skies again, high 72. Weather map, Page B10.

VOL. CLXXII .... No. 59,799 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 25, 2023 $4.00

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fortifying Ukraine's Defenses

Digging trenches Wednesday near Donetsk. Leaders of anti-Kremlin fighters based in Ukraine taunted the Russian Army. Page A8.

U.S. Debt Talks May Not Alter Spending Path

Small Programs Likely to Feel Brunt of Cuts

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — As their debt limit negotiations with President Biden push the nation perilously close to a devastating default, House Republicans have stuck to a clear message: They must force a change in what they call the nation's "unsustainable" spending path.

Yet in talks with Mr. Biden, Speaker Kevin McCarthy and his lieutenants have focused almost entirely on cutting a small corner of the budget — known as nondefense discretionary spending — that includes funding for education, environmental protection, national parks, domestic law enforcement and other areas. That budget line accounts for less than 15 percent of the $6.3 trillion the government is expected to spend this year. It is not outsized, by historical standards. It is already projected to shrink, as a share of the economy, over the next decade.

And it has nothing to do with the big drivers of projected spending growth in the coming years: the safety-net programs Social Security and Medicare, which are facing increasingly large payouts as the American population ages.

Those politically popular programs have been deemed off limits in the current talks by Republicans, who came under heavy criticism from Mr. Biden for even entertaining changes that could raise the retirement age for those programs or make other changes to slow their future spending.

Republicans have also refused to entertain cuts to military spending, which is nearly as large as nondefense discretionary spending. As a result, the negotiations are almost certain not to produce any agreement with Mr. Biden that would dramatically alter the course of federal spending in the next decade.

Instead, they would concentrate budget cuts on education, environmental protection and a host of other government services that fiscal experts say are nowhere close to being primary sources of spending growth in the years to come.

For instance, if Republicans could somehow persuade Mr. Biden to accept the full round of discretionary spending cuts contained in the fiscal bill the House passed last month, it would do little to alter the nation's overall spending trajectory over the next decade. Those cuts would reduce federal spending by about $470 billion in 2033 and likely save about $100 billion that year in borrowing costs, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

Continued on Page A17

HOT MIC, DEAD AIR AND EVENTUALLY, DESANTIS SPEAKS

ANNOUNCES BID FOR '24

Chest of Cash and String of Policy Victories in Taking On Trump

By NICHOLAS NEHAMAS and SHANE GOLDMACHER

MIAMI — Ron DeSantis's long-awaited official entry into the 2024 presidential campaign went haywire at its start on Wednesday during a glitch-filled livestream over Twitter.

Despite the problems, Mr. DeSantis, the combative 44-year-old Republican governor of Florida who has championed conservative causes and thrown a years-long flurry of punches at America's left, provides Donald J. Trump the most formidable Republican rival he has faced since his ascent in 2016. His candidacy comes at a pivotal moment for the Republican Party, which must choose between aligning once more behind Mr. Trump — who lost in 2020 and continues to rage falsely about a stolen election — or uniting around a new challenger to take on President Biden.

But on Wednesday, Mr. DeSantis's official run for the White House got off to an embarrassing

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ron DeSantis has forged a conservative record in Florida.

start as the planned livestream with Twitter's eccentric billionaire owner, Elon Musk, was marred by technical problems and dead air. The audio cut in and out amid talk of "melting the servers," hot mic whispering and on-the-spot troubleshooting.

When, after more than 25 minutes, Mr. DeSantis finally spoke, he declared, "I am running for president of the United States to lead our great American comeback."

The extended social media hiccup — as more than 500,000 people were waiting — was gleefully cheered on the very platform Mr. DeSantis was supposed to be commandeering for his campaign. Donald Trump Jr. wrote a single word: "#DeSaster." Mr. Biden

Continued on Page A14

U.S. Suspects Kyiv in Attack At the Kremlin

*This article is by **Julian E. Barnes**, **Adam Entous**, **Eric Schmitt** and **Anton Troianovski**.*

WASHINGTON — U.S. officials said the drone attack on the Kremlin early this month was likely orchestrated by one of Ukraine's special military or intelligence units, the latest in a series of covert actions against Russian targets that have unnerved the Biden administration.

U.S. intelligence agencies do not know which unit carried out the attack, and it was unclear whether President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine or his top officials were aware of the operation, though some officials believe that Mr. Zelensky was not.

The agencies reached their preliminary assessment in part through intercepted communications in which Russian officials blamed Ukraine and other communications in which Ukrainian officials said they believed their country was responsible for the attack, in which two drones were flown on May 3 toward the Kremlin, causing little damage.

U.S. officials say their level of confidence that the Ukrainian government directly authorized the Kremlin drone attack is "low," but that is because intelligence agencies do not yet have specific evidence identifying which government officials, Ukrainian units or operatives were involved.

The attack appeared to be part of a series of operations that have made officials in the United States — Ukraine's biggest supplier of military equipment — uncomfortable. The Biden administration is concerned about the risk that Russia will blame U.S. officials and retaliate by expanding the war beyond Ukraine.

American spy agencies see an emerging picture of a loose confederation of Ukrainian units able to conduct limited operations inside and outside Russia, by using either their own personnel or partners working under their direction. Some of these missions could have been conducted with little, if any, oversight from Mr. Zelensky, officials said.

In addition to the drone attack, U.S. officials say they believe the Ukrainians were responsible for the assassination of the daughter of a prominent Russian nationalist, the killing of a pro-Russian

Continued on Page A9

In China, a Crackdown on Comedy and Music

Scrutiny Is on the Rise in Already Censored Creative Fields

By VIVIAN WANG

BEIJING — The cancellations rippled across the country: A Japanese choral band touring China, stand-up comedy shows in several cities, jazz shows in Beijing. In the span of a few days, the performances were among more than a dozen that were abruptly called off — some just minutes before they were supposed to begin — with virtually no explanation.

Just before the performances were scrapped, the authorities in Beijing had fined a Chinese comedy studio around $2 million, after one of its stand-up performers was accused of insulting the Chinese military in a joke; the police in northern China also detained a woman who had defended the comedian online.

Those penalties, and the sudden spate of cancellations that followed, point to the growing scrutiny of China's already heavily censored creative landscape. China's top leader, Xi Jinping, has made arts and culture a central arena for ideological crackdowns, demanding that artists align their creative ambitions with Chinese Communist Party goals and promote a nationalist vision of Chinese identity. Performers must submit scripts or set lists for vetting, and publications are closely monitored.

On Tuesday, Mr. Xi sent a letter to the National Art Museum of China for its 60th anniversary, reminding staff to "adhere to the correct political orientation."

Mr. Xi's emphasis on the arts is also part of a broader preoccupation with national security and eliminating supposedly malign foreign influence. The authorities in recent weeks have raided the corporate offices of several West-

Continued on Page A7

TINA TURNER, 1939-2023

Like Her Voice and Legs, She Wouldn't Quit

By WILLIAM GRIMES

Tina Turner, the earthshaking singer whose rasping vocals, sexual magnetism and explosive energy made her an unforgettable live performer and one of the most successful recording artists of all time, died on Wednesday at her home in Küsnacht, Switzerland, near Zurich. She was 83.

Her publicist Bernard Doherty announced the death in a statement but did not provide the cause. She had a stroke in recent years and was known to be struggling with a kidney disease and other illnesses.

Ms. Turner embarked on her half-century career in the late 1950s, while still attending high school, when she began singing with Ike Turner and his band, the Kings of Rhythm. At first she was only an occasional performer, but she soon became the group's star attraction — and Mr. Turner's wife. With her potent, bluesy voice and her frenetic dancing style, she made an instant impression.

Their ensemble, soon renamed the Ike and Tina Turner Revue, became one of the premier touring soul acts in Black venues on the so-called chitlin' circuit. After the Rolling Stones invited the group to open for them, first on a British tour in 1966 and then on an American tour in 1969, white listeners in both countries began paying attention.

Ms. Turner, who insisted on adding rock songs by the Beatles

Continued on Page A20

RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tina Turner in 2000. Her songs often echoed her painful past.

Push by U.S. to Stitch Together Cities Long Severed by Highways

By MARK WALKER

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Anthony Roberts set out to walk to a convenience store on the opposite side of a busy highway one afternoon. It wasn't an easy trip.

First, he had to detour out of his way to reach an intersection. Then he had to wait for the light to change. When the walk signal finally came on, he had little time to cross several lanes of traffic and reach the highway's wide median. Finally, he had to make it across the other set of lanes to complete his trek. "For a person who doesn't have a car, it's very hard, especially in the wintertime," Mr. Roberts said. "No one wants to take a risk with their lives trying to cross the highway."

Mr. Roberts's journey is a small example of the lasting consequences stemming from the construction of highways slicing through urban neighborhoods in cities around the country. Completed in 2001 after being in the works for decades, the highway, U.S. 71 in Kansas City, Mo., displaced thousands of residents and cut off predominantly Black neighborhoods from grocery stores, health care and jobs.

Kansas City officials are now looking to repair some of the damage caused by the highway and reconnect the neighborhoods that surround it. To date, the city has received $5 million in funding from the Biden administration to

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Impunity in Protesters' Deaths
In Peru, investigations into the use of lethal force by security officers have never led to a conviction. PAGE A6

Hands Off the Kiwi!
Video of the national bird being handled by Miami zoo visitors caused an outcry in New Zealand. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A12-19

Lessons a Year After Uvalde
After a failed police response to the shooting deaths of 19 students and two teachers in Texas, came calls for accountability and gun laws. PAGE A12

Chinese Malware Raises Alert
The code hit systems in Guam, which would be a centerpiece of any U.S. military response to a move against Taiwan. PAGE A18

Accusations Are Flying in Texas
Ken Paxton, the state's attorney general who is under indictment, accused the Republican House speaker of performing his duties while drunk. PAGE A16

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Alarming Look Inside TikTok
Employees of the Chinese-owned video app regularly post private user information on a collaboration tool called Lark, internal documents say. PAGE B1

Watchdog Is Urged for A.I.
The technology should be governed by a body like the one for atomic energy, ChatGPT's creators say. PAGE B3

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Embracing Olympic Sprawl
The chief executive of the 2026 Winter Olympics sees spread-out Games as a model for the future. PAGE B9

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Elena Velez has been celebrated for creating complex clothes for thorny women. It may be her downfall. PAGE D4

Looking Beyond the Smile
HBO's documentary on Mary Tyler Moore examines a career that personified a hopeful feminism. PAGE D1

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A Natural Talent
The composer Gabriella Smith mixes an interest in the environment with her rising career in classical music. PAGE C1

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The producer and singer Grimes has "open-sourced" her voice with A.I. tools, and is happy with the results. PAGE C4

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Nicholas Kristof PAGE A22

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The New York Times

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The Story Behind the Story

FRANCESCA FORQUET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of the Writers Guild of America, which went on strike this month, held a singles mixer at Roadside Taco in Los Angeles on May 10.

A Reporter Wants to Be Your Third Wheel

A Styles column goes to the margins of dating, relationships, love and sex.

By EMMA GRILLO

Gina Cherelus made it to Kennedy International Airport in New York on May 10 with plenty of time to board her flight to Los Angeles, despite having had only a few hours to pack. The afternoon before her flight, Ms. Cherelus, a reporter for the Styles section of The New York Times, had learned of a singles mixer for writers on strike in Los Angeles. Soon after speaking with her editors, she booked a flight.

Since February, Ms. Cherelus has been writing a weekly column for Styles called "Third Wheel," where she reports on dating, relationships and sex. She's chronicled the enthusiastic crowd at a "Magic Mike" movie, the proliferation of fake sexually transmitted infection test results and the eroticism of blood, among other topics. And now she wanted to see sparks fly on a picket line.

"When we were conceptualizing the column, I really wanted to think of something that was broad, that could cover dating, sex and relationships from all different angles," Ms. Cherelus said in an interview.

Stella Bugbee, the Styles editor, brought the column idea to Ms. Cherelus late last year. She noticed how Ms. Cherelus, who had joined the Styles section in November 2021, often pitched stories about dating and relationships.

"I knew that it was a topic she naturally gravitated toward," Ms. Bugbee said. "I thought, No one covers that here, not as a beat. And wouldn't it be fun and relevant, especially to younger readers, to treat it with the seriousness that we treat other beats?"

Ms. Cherelus named the column after embracing her role as a "third wheel" attached to romantic pairs. When she's out with friends, she says she's "a little more observant" of the crowd, looking for people who might be dating. Sometimes, she approaches them and identifies herself as a reporter. That's how she found herself at an ax-throwing bar talking to a throuple, whom she plans to include in a column.

Ms. Cherelus also uses social media sites such as Twitter, Reddit and Instagram to discover online communities where lovers meet. She said that it was important to be transparent about her job as a reporter, especially when asking about a personal topic like romance.

"Not everyone wants to be interviewed or share their relationship in The New York Times," she said.

She's become a go-to confidante for her friends who have questions about dating, and a sounding board for colleagues who notice new trends, or exceptions to them. Recently, in a subway station in Brooklyn, a colleague saw a paper flier from a man looking for a date for his brother's wedding. (Specifically, he was hoping for someone who liked dancing and "pleasing Jewish grandmas.") Ms. Cherelus ended up writing a column about him. (He went stag.)

The column about the writers' strike mixer in Los Angeles also started with a tip. An editor shared a link for the gathering with Styles editors. The desk had been looking for its own angle to cover the Writers Guild of America strike, Hollywood's first major work stoppage in 16 years, which started this month.

She arrived in Los Angeles around 10 a.m. After dropping her bags off in her hotel room, she headed toward Paramount Studios, where she knew that W.G.A. members were picketing.

"It was one of those reporting trips where the story sort of comes to life as you go along," she said. After talking to demonstrators at Paramount, Ms. Cherelus visited the picket line outside Universal Studios, where she found a couple who had met while picketing during Hollywood's last strike in 2007. A few hours later, she went to the singles mixer, at a popular taco spot near the Universal lot. There, she met many of the subjects who would end up in her column.

While trends and events make up the bulk of the column, Ms. Cherelus also explores how couples go from dinner dates to being in love.

"A few of my columns really focused on the doom and gloom of dating," Ms. Cherelus said. "So I thought it'd be really fun to talk to couples and just ask them, How did they know they were right for each other?"

The most recent column is an interview with Troy and Tommi Vincent, who started dating in the early 1990s while Mr. Vincent was a cornerback in the National Football League. Ms. Cherelus reached out to them on Instagram, where they had posted photos from their recent wedding anniversary. She said it took interviewing the couple, though, to learn that they had reconnected in a unique way — Mr. Vincent had sent his future bride his Miami Dolphins collectors' card.

It's these little details about a relationship — the ones that don't come through in an Instagram post — that make Ms. Cherelus excited to share people's stories. Taking notes, whether on a picket line or at a party, she can introduce herself with confidence.

Read about the Vincents and other couples at nytimes.com/style.

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Corrections A19
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Obituaries A21
Opinion A22-23
Weather B10

SELF-CARE

Superfood powders, specialized running shoes, detox diets. Wellness trends abound. But are they beneficial? Well's "Scam or Not" series can help you determine which ones are worth the hype — and which ones fall flat. *nytimes.com/column/scam-or-not*

AUDIO

Anxiety, depression, self-harm and suicide has spiked for American teenagers over the last decade. On "The Ezra Klein Show," a Times Opinion podcast, the clinical psychologist Lisa Damour shared approaches to help struggling teens. *nytimes.com/ezra-klein-show*

NEWSLETTER

Discover new destinations, get tips on traveling smarter and see photos from around the world by signing up for the weekly Travel Dispatch newsletter. Start your journey at *nytimes.com/newsletters.*

Quote of the Day

"Some mistakes you can't fix. Some you can. This one, he can."

JOE MUSGROVE, *the San Diego Padres' ace starting pitcher, about his teammate Fernando Tatis Jr.'s re-entry to baseball after an 80-game suspension for a positive test for steroids. Page B8.*

Today's Top Trending Headlines

Surgeon General Warns That Social Media May Harm Children And Adolescents The nation's top health official, Dr. Vivek Murthy, warned of the "profound risk" of social media to young people and their mental health on Tuesday. In a 19-page advisory, the surgeon general urged families to set limits on social media use and for governments to create tougher standards for companies. Adolescents are "in a different phase of development," Dr. Murthy explained in an interview.

McCarthy, Bracing for Defections, Eyes a Fraught Path to a Debt Limit Deal As talks to raise the debt ceiling continue, Speaker Kevin McCarthy must cobble together a deal that can win the votes of a majority of Republicans without alienating Democrats he would need to push it through the House. Times reporters wrote that Mr. McCarthy risks striking a deal that could ultimately cost him his job as speaker.

A Paralyzed Man Can Walk Naturally Again With Brain and Spine Implants For about a decade, Gert-Jan Oskam has been paralyzed from the waist down. In a new study, scientists described implants that provided a "digital bridge" between his brain and his spinal cord, enabling him to walk. The reporter Oliver Whang recalled other advancements in spinal cord treatment, including using brain stimulation to allow paralyzed subjects to walk within a single day of treatment.

The QR-Code Menu Is Being Shown the Door The QR-code menu, a dining innovation that thrived during the Covid-19 pandemic, is losing its appeal for some waiters and patrons. Amelia Nierenberg interviewed restaurant owners and industry experts about the backlash against QR codes. "A menu is a window to the soul of the restaurant, and a QR code has no soul," explained one bar owner in Queens.

A Headline From History

TUBE TO BROOKLYN WILL OPEN TODAY

May 25, 1950. "The Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel, the longest and most costly vehicular crossing in the United States," had opened, The Times reported. With an $80 million price tag, the tunnel, which carried traffic between Manhattan and Brooklyn under the East River, ended "a major New York traffic nightmare." The Times estimated the tunnel would shave off 35 minutes of travel time between the two commercial waterfronts. At 9,117 feet in length, the tunnel, renamed the Hugh L. Carey Tunnel in 2012 to honor a former New York governor, remains the longest continuous underwater vehicular tunnel in North America. After the Sept. 11 attacks, the tunnel temporarily closed and only served emergency vehicles. It also closed following Hurricane Sandy in 2012. The Times reported that the tunnel, which had no gates or plugs, filled up with nearly 100 million gallons' worth of water.

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY
620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405

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Mail Subscription Rates*	1 Yr.	6 Mos.
Daily and Sunday	$1196.00	$598.00
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Facts of Interest

A Texas bill passed in 2021 required public schools to accept and display donated posters bearing the motto "In God We Trust."

Bill to Put Ten Commandments In Texas Schools Fails A16

"Bussin," "grill" and "old school" are among the first 100 words being prepared for inclusion in the Oxford Dictionary of African American English, a dictionary consisting entirely of words created or reinvented by Black people.

10 Words From the African American English Dictionary D2

Fernando Tatis Jr. is the only outfielder in the majors this season with two assists that traveled 96 m.p.h. or faster.

After Suspension, Padres Superstar Seeks Redemption B8

Wild orcas hunt sharks and whales, and are not generally considered dangerous to humans. But a small group off the Iberian Peninsula coast have caused three boats to sink since last summer and disrupted the trips of dozens of others.

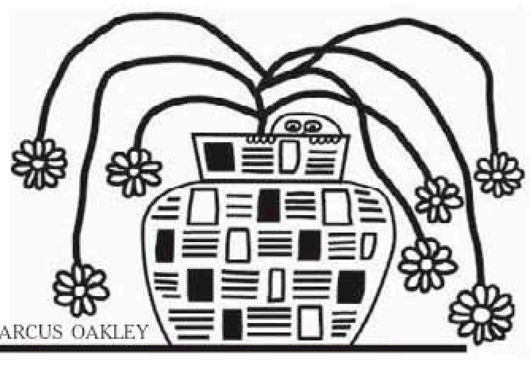
Orcas Have Been Battering Boats in Southern Europe, Puzzled Scientists Say A4

France, a country smaller than Texas, decreed that any flight between two cities that can be replaced by a train ride of less than 2.5 hours would be banned. But the decree, published on Tuesday, is apparently riddled with exceptions.

Vaunted French Ban On Short Domestic Flights Is a Pale Shade of Green A10

"Homicide: Life on the Street," the NBC drama that ran for seven seasons in the 1990s, was based on a book by David Simon, a Baltimore Sun reporter who had spent a year tagging along with the police department's homicide squad.

Why We Still Want to Be In Interrogation Three Decades Later C5



MARCUS OAKLEY

Reader Corner

Responses and Replies

The Climate team recently asked people who work in climate-focused jobs about how they found their positions and the pros and cons of working in the field. In the Climate Forward newsletter, The Times's Manuela Andreoni shared some of the responses, which came from people with careers in investment, climate tech, education, outreach, consulting, engineering, research and more. Read two edited replies below, and check this space over the next couple of weeks for more.

I like being in a position where I get to challenge the C-suite to think more about climate change and how it will impact their business, and start conversations about how to adjust their strategy to respond to climate risk. The cons include the internal politics and the feeling of always shouting into a void. Sometimes I have to take clients on a long journey of even acknowledging that climate change is real.
— MARY GOLDMAN, FINANCIAL REPORTING, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

As a legal services professional, I found it difficult to find purpose at my previous roles. It didn't seem like a patent agency with this focus on climate existed, so I made one myself. Since then, I've found my work much more fulfilling. It feels like I'm part of something larger instead of being motivated primarily by profit. The downside is that I'm making vastly less money than I did at the established firm where I was working previously. As the space as a whole grows, I'm confident I'll be able to secure more business and improve profitability without sacrificing on values.
— ALEXANDER FLAKE, PATENT LAW, BOULDER, COLO.

In Our Inbox

Excerpts From New York Times Newsletters

The United States experiences so many mass shootings that journalists cannot usually linger after the attacks. After a gunman killed 19 children and two teachers a year ago at an elementary school in Uvalde, Texas, Tamir Kalifa, an independent photojournalist based in Austin, temporarily moved to Uvalde to document how the community dealt with its loss, converting a 320-square-foot shipping container into a home. "The grieving cycles do not match the media cycles," he told the Morning newsletter. "We move on, but families don't." His photo essay appeared in yesterday's newspaper. See an additional photo below.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Most of those who died in Uvalde were buried in the same cemetery, so it became a gathering place for many memorials and holidays. The family of Alexandria "Lexi" Aniyah Rubio, who was 10 when she was killed, visited her gravesite almost every day in the last year. Above, her father, Felix, placed his hand on her headstone. "I'm always thinking of her," he said, "every month, every week, every day, every hour, every minute, every second."

To sign up for The Morning, go to nytimes.com/newsletters.

The Mini Crossword

■	■	1	2	3
4	5			
6				
7				
8			■	■

5/25/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 Helium's atomic number
4 Colossal ___, animal with nature's largest eyes (12-16 inches in diameter)
6 Place to store a phone, keys and wallet
7 Things that Yoda and Mr. Peanut carry
8 Billboards display them

DOWN
1 Chances to play in a board game
2 Learned
3 Praiseful poems
4 Pet welfare org.
5 College courtyard

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

■	■	M	D	S
C	H	I	R	P
L	U	N	A	R
O	L	O	G	Y
G	U	S	■	■

Here to Help

How to Block Out Sounds From Your Noisy Neighborhood

It can be tough to focus on work, a book or a nice family dinner amid the suburban din of screaming leaf blowers, barking dogs and emergency vehicles' sirens. So I asked Wirecutter experts, along with my suburban friends, about the best ways to find peace and quiet. ANNEMARIE CONTE

Try noise-reducing earbuds. If you want to stay aware of your surroundings but bring down the volume of the world, try musician earplugs. "Loop earplugs are my secret stress-busting weapon when my kiddo is having a raucous play date," said Lauren Dragan, a senior staff writer.

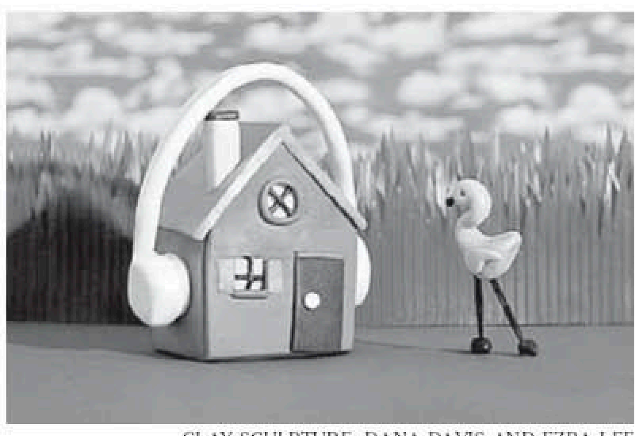
Add focused noise. If you like to listen to music without headphones, a smart speaker or Bluetooth speaker are both great options. Some Wirecutter journalists play music in a language they don't understand because it adds good filler noise without creating distraction with the lyrics.

If you prefer white or brown noise, we love the LectroFan EVO or the myNoise app for concentrated work. "The soothing whoosh of brown noise has a way of quieting both the distracting noises around me and my chatty inner monologue," said Elissa Sanci, a senior staff writer.

Go somewhere with better soundproofing. If you need to get away from a particular noise, pop over to a cafe, your local library or a co-working space to snag some Wi-Fi and break up the workday.

Though conference software has gotten pretty good at filtering out extraneous background noise, many suburbanites I spoke to move to a quieter spot in their house — like the basement, attic or closet — if they have a particularly important call.

You can also make your house quieter by upgrading single-pane windows, adding thicker curtains and placing rugs on hardwood floors, which all help soak up noise.



CLAY SCULPTURE: DANA DAVIS AND EZRA LEE
PHOTO: CONNIE PARK

Lean into it. Mourning doves like to hang outside my window. At first they annoyed me, but now I find their cooing to be gentle and comforting. Being able to identify sounds helps a lot with ignoring them.

"Country loud is definitely different than city loud, and you might just need some time to get used to the new sounds," said Ria Misra, a travel and outdoors editor. She used the Merlin Bird ID app to identify the source of the weird noises she kept hearing in the dark: a great horned owl.

Annemarie Conte is a deputy editor at Wirecutter, a product recommendation site owned by The New York Times Company. For more advice, visit nytimes.com/wirecutter.

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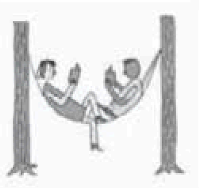

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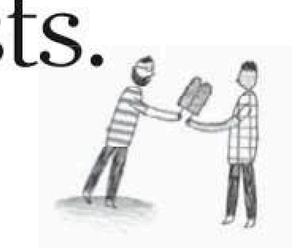

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Netanyahu's Budget May Risk His Free-Market Legacy

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

MAHMOUD ILLEAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A protest in Jerusalem on Tuesday of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's budget, which sharply increases spending on ultra-Orthodox schools.

JERUSALEM — For decades, Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister, has been a champion of free-market economic doctrine. As finance minister 20 years ago, he cut welfare payments, curbed government spending, sped up privatization and promoted the country's feted tech industry.

In his autobiography last year, Mr. Netanyahu detailed how he had rescued the economy from an "antiquated semi-socialist bog," in part by cutting handouts to ultraconservative Jewish Israelis, who often eschew the job market for religious study.

Mr. Netanyahu's new national budget, which was passed by the Israeli Parliament early on Wednesday, risks turning that legacy on its head.

Bending to the demands of his ultra-Orthodox partners in a shaky coalition government, Mr. Netanyahu greatly increased state funding for privately run ultra-Orthodox schools, seminaries and other religious and social projects, as well as for ministries run by Israeli settlers in the occupied West Bank.

Mr. Netanyahu said the increases were necessary to ensure parity between religious and secular school systems. But critics said his move would cause long-term harm to Israel's economy because it bolsters an ultra-Orthodox school system that largely does not teach math, science and English, leaving children unprepared for the modern workplace.

Mr. Netanyahu's stance on the issue has caused a storm in Israel, raising tensions between ultraconservative believers, who want to preserve their autonomous lifestyle, and their secular neighbors, who argue that their taxes are increasingly being spent on a part of the population that provides little in return and largely avoids military service.

The debate led one secular television presenter to describe the ultra-Orthodox as "bloodsuckers," while religious leaders said their communities' volunteer work for charities and emergency medical groups had gone unappreciated.

The standoff is part of a wider dispute about Israel's character, one also seen in the struggle around the government's plan to reduce judicial influence. The plan is overwhelmingly backed by the ultra-Orthodox, who see the courts as a threat to their lifestyle, but generally opposed by secular Israelis, who see the judiciary as a protector of their freedoms.

And the furor over the budget has also undermined the free-market credentials of Mr. Netanyahu, who as finance minister received praise from Milton Friedman, the godfather of neoliberal economics. The prime minister faces accusations that he is making economic decisions based on political expediency.

"It appears that the Netanyahu of 20 years ago and the Netanyahu of today hold opposing economic values and agendas," said Prof. Karnit Flug, a former governor of the Bank of Israel who is now vice president of the Israel Democracy Institute, a Jerusalem-based research group.

Ultra-Orthodox Jews, or Haredim, are the fastest-growing part of the Israeli population: They currently form about 13 percent of citizens, a proportion that is projected to triple within four decades. Economists say this rise will cost Israel trillions of dollars — unless the largely autonomous ultra-Orthodox school system prepares Haredi children better for the world of work, and more Haredi adults are encouraged to work instead of studying in seminaries.

Israel's new budget does the opposite. It increases the annual state funding for seminaries, or yeshivas, and stipends for students in those institutions by at least 50 percent, or more than $160 million, according to an assessment by analysts at the Berl Katznelson Center, a political research group. And it more than triples the annual state funding for Haredi schools, a rise of more than $400 million, according to the same analysts.

Asked to comment for this article, the prime minister's office said the increases would stimulate, not hinder, Haredi participation in the labor market, and would create parity between state funding for Haredi schools and secular ones.

"Religious children should have the same opportunities that secular children have," the prime minister's office wrote in a statement. "This is an important step toward social cohesion and inclusivity."

The statement said the budget was "in line with Prime Minister Netanyahu's free market principles that helped unleash Israel's economy two decades ago and turned it into an innovative and economic power. Prime Minister Netanyahu remains committed to these principles."

But economists are unconvinced, including within both the finance ministry and a right-wing research group that is otherwise broadly supportive of Mr. Netanyahu.

Israeli governments, including previous administrations led by Mr. Netanyahu, funded Haredi education for years, as well as secular schools and colleges. But such a large increase to that funding has spurred alarm.

In an internal government assessment published in the Israeli news media, a senior economist at the finance ministry warned that even before the new budget was passed, the sluggish employment rates among Haredim would cost Israel's economy nearly $2 trillion over the next four decades. Israelis in the work force would face income tax rises of 16 percent to maintain the current level of government services, the assessment said.

That report prompted concern even from the Kohelet Forum, a right-wing research group that has strongly backed the government's other flagship project, the judicial overhaul. Kohelet's lead economist, Michael Sarel, released a statement that supported the Haredim's right to live "according to their preferences," but criticized the government for creating "very wrong economic incentives for ultra-Orthodox families."

Three hundred economists from across the political spectrum then made a joint call for the government to "come to its senses," warning that the budget would "transform Israel in the long term from a progressive and prosperous country to a backward country where a large part of the population lacks basic skills for life in the 21st century."

Mr. Netanyahu's allies say the storm over ultra-Orthodox education has been overhyped by a hostile news media.

"The budgets for Haredi education constitute maybe half a percent of the entire budget," Bezalel Smotrich, the finance minister, said in a speech to Parliament on Tuesday night.

But "99 percent of the reporting will be about the budget for the Haredim, and less than half a percent will be about the rest, because they do not want you to know the truth," he added. "This budget is good for all the citizens of Israel — left and right, religious, ultra-Orthodox and secular, Druze, Arabs."

The entire budget covers all state spending, including on the military, transport and infrastructure, and will provide ministries with roughly $270 billion over two years. Among other measures, it has increased funds to the national security ministry, led by Itamar Ben-Gvir, a far-right former activist, and set up a new food stamp program.

The government also said the budget would help bring down the cost of living, a claim disputed by the opposition.

In his memoir last year, Mr. Netanyahu wrote that he had been prepared to cut subsidies and maintain fiscal discipline in the 2000s because "I was willing to risk my political future for it."

Now, political commentators say that is no longer the case. Mr. Netanyahu's four-seat majority in Parliament is dependent on two ultra-Orthodox political parties. If they had voted against the budget, as some of their leaders threatened, the government would automatically have fallen, setting the stage for new elections.

"Survival — that sums it up," said Anshel Pfeffer, a biographer of Mr. Netanyahu.

"Netanyahu's belief in the absolute necessity of his being Israel's leader is far deeper than his belief in fiscal conservatism," Mr. Pfeffer said. To retain power, "he is willing to pay the price in the shape of a budget that betrays all the economic principles he believes in."

ABIR SULTAN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Mr. Netanyahu debating in Israel's Parliament ahead of the passage of his budget early Wednesday.

Gabby Sobelman contributed reporting from Rehovot, Israel, and Myra Noveck from Jerusalem.

Orcas Have Been Battering Boats in Southern Europe, Puzzled Scientists Say

By ISABELLA KWAI

Hours into a journey to Portugal from Morocco, the crew of a 46-foot sailing cruiser noticed something was wrong with the rudder. Then, someone shouted what they saw slicing through the choppy waves: "Orcas! Orcas!"

The orcas kept pace with the boat, slamming into its side and chewing at the rudder, according to its skipper, a photographer onboard and video of the encounter. For about an hour, the crew signaled their predicament to the Spanish Coast Guard and tried to stay calm.

"There was nothing we could do," said Stephen Bidwell, the photographer, who was two days into a weeklong sailing course with his partner when the ramming began. "You're in awe at the same time as you are nervous."

The skipper, Gregory Blackburn, said he wrestled for control of the boat as the orcas banged into it, interfering with the rudder. "It's a reminder of where we are in the food chain and the natural world," he said.

Eventually the boat managed to motor back to Tangier, Morocco. But marine scientists took note of the episode, on May 2, and said it continued a puzzling pattern of behavior by a small group of orcas off the Iberian Peninsula's western coast. The orcas, according to the researchers, have caused three boats to sink since last summer and disrupted the trips of dozens of others.

Wild orcas, although apex predators that hunt sharks and whales, are not generally considered dangerous to humans. The animals, the largest of the dolphin family, have been known to touch, bump and follow boats, but ramming them is unusual, marine scientists say. A small group of orcas, numbering about 15, started to batter boats around Spain in 2020, with researchers calling the behavior uncommon and its motivations unclear.

"We know that it is a complex behavior that has nothing to do with aggression," said Alfredo López Fernandez, a biologist at the University of Aveiro in Portugal who worked on a study published last June on the subject. The orcas show no sign of wanting to hurt humans, he said.

In most sightings, the orcas do not change their behavior or make physical contact, according to the Atlantic Orca Working Group, which began tracking direct interactions — as well as sightings — in 2020. Since an initial surge that year, orcas have been documented approaching or reacting to vessels about 500 times, causing physical damage about 20 percent of the time, in the high-trafficked seas near Morocco, Portugal and Spain, the group said.

The orcas off the Iberian coast are considered an endangered population. The group arrives in waters near the Strait of Gibraltar every spring from waters deeper and farther north up the coast to hunt tuna. But while they are a usual sight, scientists do not know how to stop the small group's recent behavior, which has left sailors worried about safety and ship damage, and which has caught the attention of the Spanish and the Portuguese authorities.

"Every week there is an incident," said Bruno Díaz López, a biologist and the director of the Bottlenose Dolphin Research Institute who was not involved in last year's research. "We really don't know the reason."

In the most recent example, orcas battered a sailboat off the coast of Spain, causing it to sink in the early hours of May 5.

The Spanish authorities quickly arrived, and the four people onboard were rescued "in good humor," said Christoph Winterhalter, president of the Swiss company that was operating the boat, Hoz Hochseezentrum International.

The small group of orcas, including only two adults, were responsible for a majority of the interactions with boats, which range from the North African coast to France, according to Dr. López Fernandez.

Researchers do not know what is behind the behavior. Some have speculated that it is an "aversive behavior" that could have started after an incident between an animal and a boat, like an entanglement in fishing line, or an invented behavior from young orcas that is being repeated.

Those remain only theories, though Dr. López Fernandez said it appeared that the behavior might be passing between local animals.

"We know that orcas share their culture with their young and with their peers," he said, adding that they learned from imitation. But because the behavior has been observed only in this particular subpopulation of orcas, he said it was unlikely to pass onto distinct orca groups that populate waters around the world.

Given the lack of evidence and the presence of young orcas in the group, other scientists expressed skepticism that the behavior stemmed from a boat incident and believed that the animals may simply be playing.

"They're getting some sort of reward or thrill from it," said Erich Hoyt, an orca expert and research fellow with Whale and Dolphin Conservation, a wildlife charity. "Play is part of being a predator."

Scientists say that aside from having sailors avoid the area, they do not know how to stop orcas from bothering sailboats, which tend to be quieter than most vessels and therefore more attractive to the animals.

It has also left conservationists worried about how humans will treat the orca population, especially as sailors in the region express growing frustration with the animals.

"I hope that they stop doing it as quickly as they started, because it's actually imposing a risk on themselves," said Hanne Strager, a marine biologist and the author of "The Killer Whale Journals," adding that it was putting pressure on an already vulnerable species.

Mr. Bidwell, the photographer, said the episode would not stop him and his partner from booking another sailing trip in June, though perhaps with some changes. "Maybe we don't go that same route," he said.

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THE MOST FABULOUS JEWELS IN THE WORLD

Peru's Security Forces Face Little Scrutiny As Protesters Die

Antonia Huillca holds a photograph of her husband, Quintino Cereceda, who was fatally shot during a mining protest in 2015.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARCO GARRO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Excessive Force Investigations Rarely Go to Trial, Undermining Faith in Authorities

By MITRA TAJ

Over 200 civilians have died during clashes with officers in the past two decades in Peru, with no convictions.

CHOQUECCA, Peru — In the adobe house she built with her husband in a small village in Peru, Antonia Huillca pulled out a stack of documents that once represented a glimmer of hope.

They were part of an investigation into the death of her husband, Quintino Cereceda, who left one morning in 2016 to join a protest against a new copper mine and never returned.

Ms. Huillca can't read, but she can identify a photo of her husband's body, a bullet wound to his forehead; the question-and-answer format in which police officers describe firing live ammunition as protesters threw rocks; the logo of the mining company sending convoys of trucks over unpaved roads, sparking protests among villagers fed up with the dust.

But today, the investigation has gone cold.

"All these years and no justice," Ms. Huillca, a 51-year-old Quechua farmer, said as a storm gathered over her village, Choquecca, in Peru's southern Andes. "It's as if we don't exist."

For years, scores of similar cases in Peru have met a familiar fate: Investigations into the killing of unarmed civilians at protests where security forces were deployed, most of them in poor Indigenous and rural areas, are opened when they attract headlines, only to be closed quietly later, with officials often citing a lack of evidence.

Now, the unusually high death toll during antigovernment demonstrations after the removal of the country's president last year has put accusations of abuse by security officials in the global spotlight, raising questions about why so many previous killings remain unsolved.

At least 49 civilians were killed in clashes with the police or military during protests after President Pedro Castillo was impeached last December when he tried to dissolve Congress and rule by decree, according to figures from the country's ombudsman's office.

A New York Times investigation in March found that in three towns where deadly clashes occurred, the police and soldiers had fired shotguns at civilians using lethal ammunition, shot assault rifles at fleeing protesters and killed unarmed people, often in apparent violation of their own protocols.

"We went through the same thing," said José Cárdenas, whose younger brother, Alberto, was killed in 2015 in clashes with the police during protests that also targeted a copper mine. "My brother didn't die in an accident. He was shot."

So far, an investigation has not led to any charges.

A lack of accountability for excessive use of force by security agencies is a serious human rights failure, according to civil rights organizations, undermining people's faith in the authorities.

In Peru, more than 200 civilians have been killed in police and military crackdowns on protests in the past two decades, according to a list compiled by the National Human Rights Coordinator, an advocacy group.

Yet, over that same period, prosecutors have not won a single conviction against police or military officers or their superiors for killings at protests, according to human rights activists, lawyers and two state prosecutors who insisted on anonymity because they were not authorized to speak to the news media.

In most cases, investigations do not even lead to a trial, they said, adding that, instead, demonstrators and protest leaders are accused of vandalism or inciting public disorder.

"It's backwards — when it's about punishing campesinos they move fast," said David Velazco, a human rights lawyer who has defended more than 200 rural protesters on various charges, including vandalism and disturbing the public order.

The prime minister's office and the national prosecutor's office did not respond to multiple requests for comment, while the Interior Ministry declined to answer questions.

The country's current president, Dina Boluarte, who took over after Mr. Castillo was ousted, has blamed the deadly clashes on protesters who have blocked roads and attacked security forces with rocks and slingshots.

Investigations involving clashes in rural areas can be challenging, legal analysts say, partly because it can be hard to determine whether the police face a legitimate threat to their lives when they are outnumbered by protesters, said Rolando Luque, who monitors conflicts in the ombudsman's office.

"At some point, while carrying out their duties, they could be overtaken by protesters," he said. "They could be killed with their own weapons."

That is what happened during a clash in the Amazon between protesters and the police in 2009 that left 23 officers and 10 civilians dead, said Mr. Luque, who witnessed the aftermath. The officers, he said, "were taken into the forest and executed."

Further complicating matters, the police and the military often refuse to share details about their operations, according to lawyers involved in cases of civilian deaths. And cases tend to be assigned to overworked prosecutors, some of whom manage more than 200 at a time.

Prosecutors have been reluctant to investigate top government officials who may have authorized or encouraged the use of lethal force, or the role of mining companies that hire the police to provide private security, human rights activists said.

"There's a clear lack of institutional will to tackle the issue," said Carlos Rivera, a human rights lawyer.

Peru is not the only South American democracy where unarmed civilians have been killed in protests as popular discontent has boiled over into the street.

Javier Puente, a scholar of Andean studies at Smith College in Massachusetts, said militaries and the police have long helped weak Latin American leaders make up for the lack of strong parties and other institutions, normalizing violent solutions to political problems.

"The price that Peru pays for the form of institutionalism that the military and the police offers is impunity," Mr. Puente said.

Peru's return to democracy in 2000 after years of authoritarian rule raised expectations of broader access to justice and political representation, along with an end to the police and military abuses of Peruvians, notably against Indigenous people.

Instead, as Peru experienced a rapid economic expansion, those hopes were left by the wayside.

One democratically elected president after another became mired in corruption scandals. Inequality remained high, social conflicts festered and a global commodities boom brought huge mining projects to rural Indigenous regions.

"They never listen to us. They just send in the police," said Melchor Yauri, a member of an Indigenous community in southern Peru.

He said his father, Félix, was shot in the eye with a rubber bullet by the police during a protest in 2012 over pollution from a copper mine and died from an infection to his wounds. An investigation into his death was closed in 2015.

Peru's police could be given greater immunity under a proposed congressional bill that would shift trials involving officers from civilian courts to a military-police court.

While neighboring countries, including Chile and Colombia, have elected leaders who promised changes to address excessive force, abuse and impunity in Peru seem to be growing more entrenched, said Will Freeman, a fellow in Latin America studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, a U.S. research institute.

Ms. Boluarte and most lawmakers "don't even seem interested in pretending to put pressure behind accountability or reforms," Mr. Freeman said.

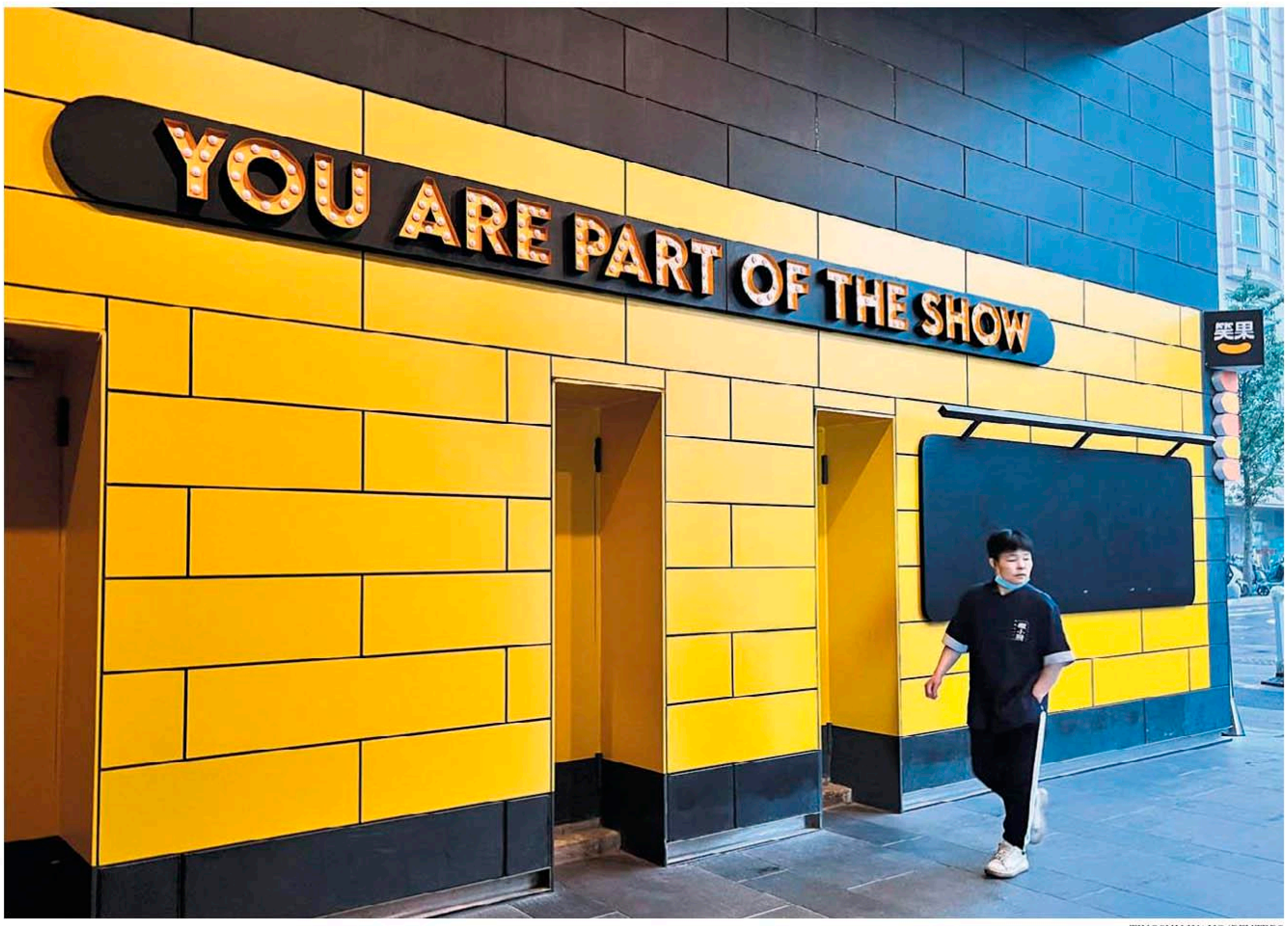
Days after nine civilians were killed in clashes with security forces in December, Ms. Boluarte promoted her defense minister to prime minister. Her administration has described the police's handling of protests as "impeccable" and proposed longer prison sentences for people who damage property or disrupt public order.

The relatives of victims of recent clashes say they do not trust the head of the prosecutor's office, Patricia Benavides, after she removed prosecutors who specialize in human rights violations from investigations and moved cases from rural areas to Lima, the capital, making it harder for family members to monitor their progress.

After her husband's death at the mining protest, Ms. Huillca said her herd of sheep dwindled to 30 from 500, as she has sold them off to support her children's education.

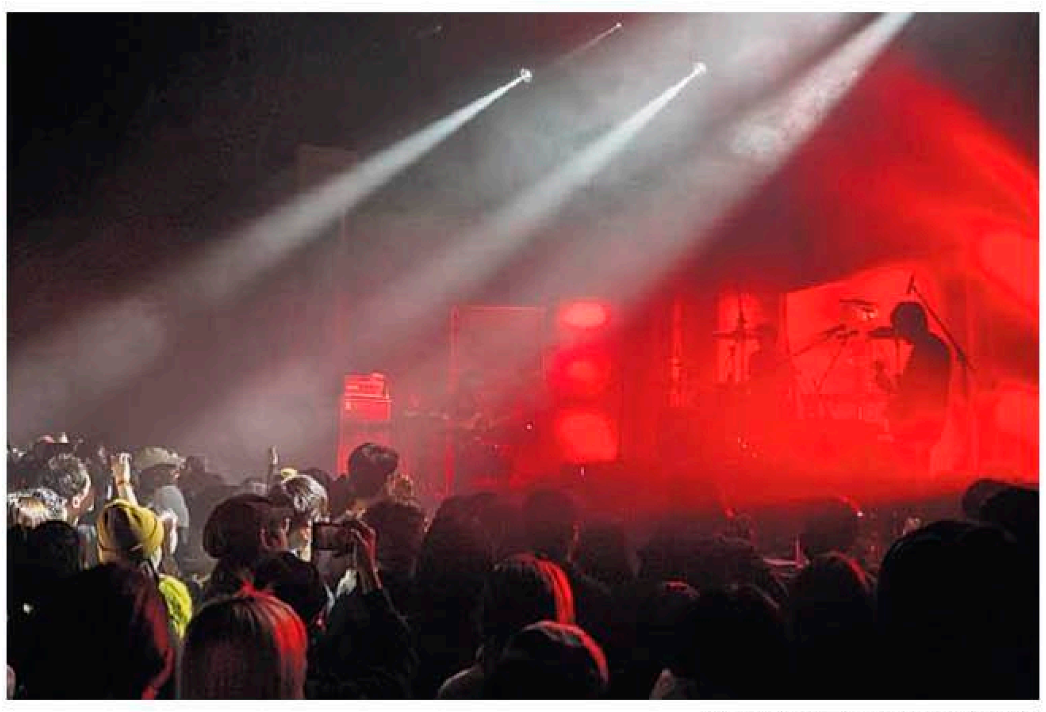
To this day, she freezes up when she sees the police. "I'm afraid they'll do the same thing to me," she said.

In China, a Crackdown on Comedy and Music, as Scrutiny Intensifies



TINGSHU WANG/REUTERS

POOL PHOTO BY FLORENCE LO



WU HAO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

China's top leader, Xi Jinping, far left, has targeted arts and culture for ideological crackdowns. Left, a rock band concert in Qinhuangdao, China, last year. Above, the Beijing venue of the stand-up comedy company which was fined after a joke about the military.

From Page A1

ern consulting or advisory companies based in China, and broadened the range of behaviors covered under counterespionage laws.

Many of the canceled events were supposed to feature foreign performers or speakers.

It was only to be expected that Beijing would also look to the cultural realm, as its deteriorating relationship with the West has made it more fixated on maintaining its grip on power at home, said Zhang Ping, a former journalist and political commentator in China who now lives in Germany.

"One way to respond to anxiety about power is to increase control," said Mr. Zhang, who writes under the pen name Chang Ping. "Dictatorships have always sought to control people's entertainment, speech, laughter and tears."

While the party has long regulated the arts — one target of the Cultural Revolution was creative work deemed insufficiently "revolutionary" — the intensity has increased sharply under Mr. Xi. In 2021, a state-backed performing arts association published a list of morality guidelines for artists, which included prescriptions for patriotism. The same year, the government banned "sissy men" from appearing on television, accusing them of weakening the nation.

Officials have also taken notice of stand-up comedy, which has gained popularity in recent years and offered a rare medium for limited barbs about life in contemporary China. The government fined a comedian for making jokes about last year's coronavirus lockdown in Shanghai. People's Daily, the Communist Party mouthpiece, published a commentary in November that said jokes had to be "moderate" and noted that stand-up as an art form was a foreign import; the Chinese name for stand-up, "tuo kou xiu," is itself a transliteration from "talk show."

The recent crackdown began after an anonymous social media user complained about a set that a popular stand-up comedian, Li Haoshi, performed in Beijing on May 13. Mr. Li, who uses the stage name House, had said that watching his two adopted stray dogs chase a squirrel reminded him of a Chinese military slogan: "Maintain exemplary conduct, fight to win." The user suggested that Mr. Li had slanderously compared soldiers to wild dogs.

Outrage grew among nationalist social media users, and the authorities quickly piled on. In addition to fining Xiaoguo Culture Media, the firm that manages Mr. Li, the authorities — who said the joke had a "vile societal impact" — indefinitely suspended the company's performances in Beijing and Shanghai. Xiaoguo fired Mr. Li, and the Beijing police said they were investigating him.

Within hours of the penalty being announced last Wednesday, organizers of stand-up shows in Shanghai, Beijing, Shenzhen and eastern Shandong Province canceled their performances. A few days later, Chinese social media platforms suspended the accounts of Uncle Roger, a Britain-based Malaysian comic whose real name is Nigel Ng; Mr. Ng had posted a video poking fun at the Chinese government on Twitter (which is banned in mainland China).

But the apparent fallout was not limited to comedy. Scheduled musical performances began disappearing, too, including a stop in southern China by a Shanghai rock band that includes foreign members, a Beijing folk music festival and several jazz performances, and a Canadian rapper's show in the southern city of Changsha.

The frontman of a Buddhist-influenced Japanese chorus group, Kissaquo, said last Wednesday that his concert that night in the southern city of Guangzhou had been canceled. Hours later, the frontman, Kanho Yakushiji, said a performance in Hangzhou, in eastern China, had been canceled, too. And the next day, he announced that Beijing and Shanghai shows had also been called off.

"I was writing a set list, but I stopped in the middle," Mr. Yakushiji, whose management company did not respond to a request for comment, wrote on his Facebook page. "I still don't understand what the meaning of all this is. I have nothing but regrets."

Organizers' announcements for nearly all of the canceled events cited "force majeure," a term that means circumstances beyond one's control — and, in China, has often been used as shorthand for government pressure.

Stand-up show organizers did not return requests for comment. Several organizers of canceled musical performances denied that they had been told not to feature foreigners. An employee at a Nanjing music venue that canceled a tribute to the Japanese composer Ryuichi Sakamoto said not enough tickets had been sold.

Some of the foreign musicians whose shows were canceled have since been able to perform in other cities or at other venues.

But a foreign musician in Beijing, who asked to remain anonymous for fear of retaliation, said his band was scheduled to play at a bar on Sunday and was told by the venue several days before that the gig was canceled because featuring foreigners would bring trouble.

Lynette Ong, a professor of Chinese politics at the University of Toronto, said it was unlikely that the central government had issued direct instructions to spur the recent cultural crackdowns. Local governments or venue owners, conscious of how the political environment had changed, were likely being especially cautious, she said.

"In Xi's China, people are so scared and fearful that they become extremely risk-averse," she said. "Overall, it's a very paranoid party."

In the past, when nationalism has gone to extremes, or local officials overzealously enforced the rules, the central government would eventually step in to cool down the rhetoric, in part to preserve economic or diplomatic relationships. But Professor Ong said Beijing's current emphasis on security above all would give it no reason to intervene here.

"If people don't watch comedy, there's no loss for the party," she said.

Joy Dong and Li You contributed research.

War in Ukraine

FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of groups calling themselves the Free Russia Legion and the Russian Volunteer Corps held a news conference on Wednesday after staging attacks in Russia.

After Attack on Russian Soil, Raiders Taunt Kremlin

Incursion by Rebels Forces Moscow to Divert Crucial Troops and Aims to Embarrass Putin

By ANDREW E. KRAMER and VALERIE HOPKINS

Fresh from leading a military incursion into Russian territory, commanders of anti-Kremlin armed groups on Wednesday taunted the Russian Army for its slow response and threatened Moscow with more raids to come.

Russia, they told reporters at a news conference in a forest clearing in northern Ukraine near the border, should now understand that any section of the long frontier may become a new place that Moscow will be compelled to defend.

Military analysts suggested that the cross-border attack in the region of Belgorod on Monday and Tuesday had twin goals, military and political.

It appeared aimed at forcing Russia to divert badly needed troops from the front in eastern and southern Ukraine, even as Ukraine prepares a counteroffensive. And it threatened to embarrass President Vladimir V. Putin's government by showing Russia's vulnerability.

The raid prompted a warning from the leader of Russia's largest mercenary force, who said his country faced further military setbacks unless its ruling elite took drastic — and most likely unpopular — measures to win the war. The Kremlin, said Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, founder of the Wagner group, needs to order a new wave of military mobilization, declare martial law and force "everyone possible" into ammunition production.

"We must stop building new roads and infrastructure facilities and work only for the war, to live for a few years in the image of North Korea," Mr. Prigozhin said.

The consequences otherwise, he said, might prove dire for a Russian elite he described as profoundly estranged from the citizenry. "Society always demands justice," he said, "and if there is no justice, then revolutionary sentiments arise."

Some pro-war Russian voices openly expressed fear that the attacks in Belgorod would create new battlefield challenges for Russia, whose only significant military victory in the past nine months came in the past few days, when it claimed control of the ruins of the city of Bakhmut after a long, costly battle.

Igor Girkin, a military blogger and former Russian paramilitary commander in Ukraine, warned of "the inevitable creation of a continuous front along this border, which will have to be filled from somewhere with combined arms units and formations of the Russian Armed Forces, is on the agenda."

That can only help the Ukrainian military, said Mr. Girkin, who goes by Igor Strelkov.

The Russian Defense Ministry said Tuesday that the attackers, who are members of two groups calling themselves the Free Russia Legion and the Russian Volunteer Corps, had been pushed back across the border into Ukraine. But the attacks in Belgorod continued overnight, with a "large number" of drone strikes and damage to a gas pipeline that caused a small fire, the regional governor, Vyacheslav Gladkov, said Wednesday morning.

RUSSIAN DEFENSE MINISTRY PRESS SERVICE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Russian Defense Ministry officials meeting with military officers in Moscow on Wednesday, in a handout from Russian officials.

"The night was not entirely calm," Mr. Gladkov wrote on Telegram, saying that houses, cars and office buildings in the city of Belgorod and other settlements had been damaged.

It was unclear how the aftermath of the raid might play out in Russia.

Analysts of Russian politics said that the attack might stir discontent over incompetence in the military among pro-war groups, but that it could also offer Mr. Putin an opportunity to try to rally people around the flag. Already, the Kremlin has said that the raiders had abandoned American-made military vehicles inside Russia, and Moscow can use the far-right histories of some of the raiders to bolster its largely false claim to be fighting Nazis in Ukraine.

Sergei K. Shoigu, Russia's minister of defense, called the attack a terrorist act. "In response to similar action by Ukrainian fighters, we will respond in an operational manner and very harshly," he told a gathering of security officials in Moscow, Russian media reported.

Ukrainian officials denied having directed the assault, and said only Russian citizens had crossed the border.

The raiders, a motley group of Russian exiles who have been fighting on the Ukrainian side in the war, said much the same when they met with reporters in the forest, in a region of northern Ukraine wrested back from Russian occupiers last spring.

The Ukrainian military, said one commander, who asked to be identified by his code name, White Rex, "wished us good luck" but did cross into Russia.

But the fighters made clear that they were consulting with the Ukrainians.

"Everything we do within the state borders of Ukraine we obviously coordinate with the Ukrainian military," White Rex said. "Everything we do, every decision we make, beyond the state border, is our decision."

The fighters were buoyant. Commanders and soldiers, some with camouflage buffs pulled over their faces, stood toting machine guns before an armored personnel carrier they said they had captured and driven out of Russia.

They mocked the Russian response to the raid.

"The reaction was slow, panicked, disorganized, and didn't begin for hours." said a commander who asked to be identified by his nickname, Cesar.

The Kremlin, eager to discredit the renegade Russians, dismissed them as neo-fascists. White Rex described himself as "right wing" but denied any fascist leanings. His goal, he said, is to help Ukraine win the war, then continue inside Russia with an armed revolution against the Putin government.

"Should we care how our enemy insults us?" he said.

The news conference in the forest was intended as a victory lap of sorts, but the fighters kept a strict time limit on the gathering, lest it be targeted by a Russian missile. After about 40 minutes, the soldiers drove away in pickup trucks and, with a rumble of a diesel engine, what they said was the captured Russian personnel carrier.

Evelina Riabenko and Milana Mazaeva contributed reporting.

Two Groups Of Russians Are Fighting For Ukraine

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

The fighters who have claimed responsibility for a rare assault just over the Ukrainian border in Russia's Belgorod region are members of a volunteer unit made up of Russian citizens who have been fighting with Ukraine's forces against their own country.

The Free Russia Legion, as the volunteer unit is called, was created last August to provide a way for Russians opposed to the Kremlin's war in Ukraine to take up arms and fight alongside Ukrainians. Fighting by these anti-Kremlin Russian volunteers has been confined mostly to the front lines in Ukraine, largely in and around Bakhmut.

That changed this week, when the group announced that its fighters, together with Russians from another group called the Russian Volunteer Corps, had crossed the border and "liberated" several settlements inside Russia. On Tuesday, the Free Russia Legion said that the fighting in the Belgorod region was continuing, although Russia's Ministry of Defense said all the fighters who had not been killed had been pushed back into Ukraine.

"This is the first operation of the Legion on Russian territory, and in the future, the scale of our actions will only increase," one Russian fighter, who goes by the call sign Caesar and took part in the operation, said in a text message.

Caesar, who is 50 and is a private with the Free Russia Legion, was responding to questions sent through a press officer for the group. The Russian Volunteer Corps, which claimed to have joined the Free Russia Legion in this week's operation, took responsibility for a previous, more limited incursion into Russia in March.

The Ukrainian military's involvement in the operation is not clear. The Free Russian Legion operates under the umbrella of Ukraine's International Legion, a fighting force that includes units made up of American and British volunteers, as well as Belarusians, Georgians and others. It is overseen by Ukraine's Armed Forces and commanded by Ukrainian officers.

A senior Ukrainian official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to reveal details about the mission inside Russia, said that Ukraine's military was acting largely in a support role, protecting Ukraine's border in the area in case of a Russian counterattack. No Ukrainian fighters entered Russian territory, the official said.

Losses in the units that took part in the operation, the official said, did not affect their combat readiness. The official would provide no further details.

The Free Russia Legion has received little attention, in part to protect the soldiers and their families from reprisals by Russia, but also because of Ukraine's reluctance to highlight the exploits of soldiers whose home country has killed so many Ukrainians. Several hundred Russians have been deployed to the front lines in eastern Ukraine, officials said, but Ukraine's military has not divulged exactly how many Russians are fighting on its side.

The motivations of Russians fighting for Ukraine vary. In interviews earlier this year, some said they had already been living in Ukraine when the war started and felt a need to defend their adopted homeland. Others, often with no military experience, crossed into Ukraine after the war started and signed up to fight.

Joining is not easy, the Russian soldiers said. After filling out a detailed application, they undergo several rounds of background checks and take a polygraph. Distrust among Ukrainians is high. There have been several attempts by Russian intelligence operatives to infiltrate the Free Russia Legion, Ukrainian officials said.

A Russian defense ministry spokesman said on Tuesday that the fighters had been pushed back and that scores had been killed.

But Caesar said that fighting continued throughout the day on Tuesday and that a Russian infantry company had been wiped out. His claims could not be independently confirmed. The senior Ukrainian official said the military was awaiting confirmation, including video from drones, about the fate of the Russian infantry company.

"The goal of the operation begun yesterday was the creation of a demilitarized zone between Russia and Ukraine, the elimination of fighters who serve the Putin regime and a demonstration to the people of Russia that it is possible to create resistance and fight against the Putin regime inside Russia," Caesar wrote. "These goals were successfully achieved."

U.S. Military Might On Display in Norway

By HENRIK PRYSER LIBELL

OSLO — An American aircraft carrier arrived on Wednesday in the capital of Norway for a four-day stay, a show of strength in northern Europe that seemed to irritate neighboring Russia, before beginning military exercises elsewhere in the country.

Hundreds of people watched the U.S.S. Gerald R. Ford, the world's largest aircraft carrier, enter the Oslo fjord in an Arctic region swelling with geopolitical importance.

It was the latest American foray into an expanse increasingly contested by Russia and China, which have partnered to promote expanded use of Arctic trade routes. As the war continued to rage in Ukraine, the arrival of the carrier amounted to a display of solidarity with NATO allies nearby and a visible element of deterrence to Russia, which shares a border with Norway of almost 125 miles.

The Russian Embassy said on its Facebook page Wednesday that "there are no questions in the north that require a military solution." Since Russia, the embassy said, "poses no direct military threat to Norway, such demonstrations of power appear illogical and harmful."

Jonas Gahr Store, Norway's prime minister, said through a representative that the carrier's presence in Oslo transcends mere symbolic value. It also reflects, he said, the United States' power at sea.

Historically, Norway has been slightly reluctant to allow a strong U.S. military presence, but its stance has slowly changed since Russia illegally seized the Crimean peninsula from Ukraine in 2014. American Marines have trained on a rotational basis in Norway since 2017, buttressing their defenses against a resurgent Russia, and in 2018 U.S. troops joined 50,000 Allied Forces in the Trident Juncture, NATO's largest military exercise since the end of the Cold War in 1991.

Andreas Osthagen, a senior research fellow at the Fridtjof

JAVAD PARSA/NTB SCANPIX, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The U.S.S. Gerald R. Ford, the world's largest aircraft carrier, sailing to Oslo on Wednesday.

Nansen Institute in Norway and an expert on geopolitical issues related to the Arctic, called the trip part of a trend of the U.S. military engaging in the Arctic and North Atlantic, not only a response to Russian aggression in Europe, but also the increasing Chinese presence in the Arctic.

After its stay in Oslo, the carrier is scheduled to move along Norway's coast into the Norwegian Sea, but the Norwegian Armed Forces did not say precisely where or for how long. The aircraft carrier, the armed forces said, will train with Norway's military.

War in Ukraine

U.S. Officials Suspect Ukraine Carried Out Drone Attack on Kremlin

From Page A1

blogger and a number of attacks in Russian towns near the border with Ukraine, the most recent of which occurred Monday.

American officials similarly view the attack on the Nord Stream pipelines — which carried natural gas from Russia to Europe — as the work of pro-Ukrainian operatives whose ties to the Ukrainian government have yet to be determined.

The officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive intelligence, described their assessment in broad terms, but would not share the details of the intercepts. Representatives of the White House, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence declined to comment.

Though the drone attack caused little damage, it punctured the sense of security and invincibility that the Kremlin has sought to portray within Moscow despite the chaos it has created with its war in Ukraine.

U.S. intelligence agencies' ability to determine responsibility for attacks against Russian targets has been complicated by the way Ukraine has organized its security services, which have secretive, overlapping and sometimes competing responsibilities.

For example, the Security Service of Ukraine, the Main Directorate of Intelligence and the Ukrainian military each field their own special forces units.

These operate with varying levels of professionalism and oversight, and they sometimes compete for resources and attention within the Ukrainian system. U.S. officials are not sure how closely, if at all, these units coordinate their activities with each other, by design — as part of a system of compartmentalization to prevent Russian moles from learning about their operations — or because of mistrust among the services, or both.

Some U.S. officials initially considered the possibility that the Kremlin drone attack might have been carried out by the Russian government in a "false flag" operation designed to provide Moscow with a pretext to escalate the conflict.

But after the attack, the United States intercepted communications in which Russian officials were overheard discussing the incident and the findings of Moscow's preliminary investigation into what took place. In those internal discussions, Russian officials seemed surprised by the drone intrusion and blamed Ukraine. U.S. officials said this intelligence helped convince them that the attack was not carried out by the Russians.

"Watching how the Kremlin has responded suggests to me this was an embarrassment and surprise for them, and not a deliberate false flag," said Dara Massicot, a military analyst at RAND, referring to the drone attack. "The strikes also undermine the perceptions of Moscow's air space surveillance capabilities and that the Kremlin is secure — these are important perceptions they would like to maintain."

The United States also intercepted Ukrainian conversations in which officials said they believed that their country was responsible for the attack. But these officials appeared to have no knowledge of who within the Ukrainian system might have planned or carried it out.

U.S. officials say that some Ukrainian covert operatives work largely independently and without direct supervision from Mr. Zelensky or his top deputies. The officials say they do not believe Mr. Zelensky signs off on all covert operations, and the extent to which he is aware of them in advance is unclear.

YURI KOCHETKOV/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

The Kremlin on May 3 after a drone strike. Russia immediately blamed Ukraine for the attack.

Instead, American officials said they suspect that Mr. Zelensky and his top aides have set the broad parameters of the covert campaign, leaving decisions about who and what to target to the security services and their operatives. In doing so, Mr. Zelensky and his top aides can deny knowing about them.

U.S. officials have repeatedly cautioned Ukraine not to conduct high-profile attacks inside Russia, citing the risk of escalation. They have also generally been dismissive of the effectiveness of the attacks, which they see as a distraction from the most important fight: Kyiv's campaign against Russian forces in southern and eastern Ukraine.

U.S. officials have also publicly denied enabling or encouraging the cross-border attacks and say they do not support the use of American equipment in such operations. The Biden administration does not want Moscow to think that the United States is complicit in the attacks.

Zelensky may not be told of plans for covert strikes.

The administration's fears that Russia will use nuclear weapons, or expand the conflict outside Ukraine, have eased, for now at least, and the Ukrainians have continued to conduct covert operations on Russian soil despite U.S. reservations.

While the covert attacks appear to have had little effect so far on the course of the conflict in Ukraine, they have demonstrated Kyiv's ability to penetrate deep inside Russia. U.S. officials say the goal of the operations may be to bolster Ukrainian morale and to pierce the aura of invulnerability that surrounds President Vladimir V. Putin.

Ukrainian military leaders have sometimes been reluctant to share information with the United States on war plans, concerned that Russian spies or others will learn about them, making it harder for Ukraine to surprise the enemy. The Ukrainians have been especially tight-lipped about their covert operations.

The drone attack on the Kremlin took place in the early-morning hours, several days before Russia celebrated Victory Day, marking Russia's victory over Nazi Germany in World War II.

The first drone caused a small fire; the second drone exploded while two people were examining the roof for damage caused by the first, but they did not appear to be hurt. Russian officials said the drones were intercepted and destroyed before they could cause injuries.

A New York Times analysis of the video of the attack showed that the drones had a wingspan of about eight feet. American officials believe the two drones involved were launched from a short distance away, in or near Moscow. The drones, according to senior military officials, carried a limited explosive payload, suggesting the detonations over the Kremlin were more for shock value than an actual threat.

Russian officials were quick to publicize the incident and said it was an attempt by Ukraine to assassinate Mr. Putin. Russia promised retaliatory measures and has been striking Ukraine with regular missile barrages, though it is unclear whether the escalation came in direct response to the drone attack.

On the day of the drone attack, Mr. Zelensky publicly denied responsibility, asserting that Ukraine fights on its own territory, and keeps its weapons for defense of Ukraine rather than attacks in Moscow. "We didn't attack Putin," he said.

A shadowy network of Russian partisan groups has claimed responsibility for a number of the attacks, including the one on the Kremlin. But U.S. intelligence agencies have found no evidence that such groups are responsible for the operations, and some U.S. intelligence officials are skeptical that there are any meaningful anti-Putin resistance forces operating inside Russia.

Christiaan Triebert, Riley Mellen and Michael Schwirtz contributed reporting.

Russia's Likely Strategy After Bakhmut: Defense

A Counteroffensive by Ukraine Is Looming

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF

The battle for the eastern Ukrainian city of Bakhmut is essentially over, for now. After 10 months of brutal artillery duels, frantic troop advances and thousands of Russian and Ukrainian casualties, Moscow's formations are in control of the industrial hub, while Kyiv's troops are trying to put pressure on the city's flanks.

But what comes next for Russia, which has said it aims to capture the entire eastern Donbas region, is unclear. Earlier in the battle, Moscow had hoped to use the capture of Bakhmut as a springboard for further advances to the west — aspirationally toward the larger cities of Kramatorsk and Sloviansk. That goal seems out of reach for now.

Russian troops appear spent, military analysts say, after suffering extensive losses in securing Bakhmut. And overall, President Vladimir V. Putin's forces have shown little ability to take more territory elsewhere, having been mostly relegated to smaller-scale attacks in a smattering of towns in the country's east.

A grinding battle closes with significant costs for both nations.

Ukraine, in the meantime, has trained new formations, armed and equipped by the West, and is expected to launch a broader counteroffensive somewhere along the roughly 600-mile front line.

This has Russia in somewhat of a defensive crouch, its forces stretched, as they build fortifications and prepare for the war's next phase.

"We'll probably see more localized tactical assaults," Rob Lee, a military analyst at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, said of Russian forces. "But Russia will likely primarily focus on defense and prepare for Ukraine's counteroffensive."

Russian forces have spent much of the winter and spring digging in and preparing for Ukraine to strike, though some units have continued to attack in areas such as Kreminna north of Bakhmut and Avdiivka to the south. Those assaults have gained the Russians little ground, and instead have decimated the population centers in their path while depleting their own ranks.

In the south, which some military analysts predict will be the focus of Ukraine's offensive, Russian forces have dug an intricate network of primary and secondary trench lines and minefields to thwart any Ukrainian advance, according to satellite photos and analysts.

If Ukraine does manage to retake territory, analysts say, that could give Russia's far larger air force an upper hand as Ukrainian troops push forward, outside the range of their air defenses.

Farther to the southwest, Ukraine now holds the southern port city of Kherson after reclaiming it in November. But with the Dnipro River serving as a natural boundary, Russian artillery units can shell the city from the eastern side with little risk of being overrun by Ukrainian ground forces, given the difficulty of crossing a wide, exposed waterway.

To the north, Ukrainian-backed proxy units have penetrated the Russian border in recent days, seizing a small patch of territory in what is considered a propaganda move to tie up Russian forces and embarrass the Kremlin after the seizure of Bakhmut.

But the battle for Bakhmut came at a significant cost for Russia and Ukraine and will weigh heavily on what comes next. Both sides made outsize investments in men and matériel to take and hold a relatively small and now-devastated city, which had a prewar population of more than 70,000.

Such is the nature of the 15-month-old war: Both militaries, still rooted in Soviet-style tactics, continue to rely heavily on artillery, tanks and limited troop advances to seize and control ground.

"The battle for Bakhmut is less important in terms of territory and more in its impact on both forces and what it reveals about them," said Michael Kofman, the director of Russian studies at CNA, a research institute in Arlington, Va.

Russian forces were defeated on three fronts last year — around Kyiv, in the northeastern Kharkiv region and at Kherson. Moscow is nursing its exhausted and casualty-ridden formations after brutal urban combat in Bakhmut. Ukraine, too, is plagued by casualties, but is digging in along far more favorable and higher terrain outside Bakhmut.

In recent days, Ukrainian forces have made small gains to the north and south of Bakhmut, putting their forces in a better position to prevent Russian troops from advancing further. The head of the Wagner paramilitary force, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, whose fighters were primarily responsible for the seizure of Bakhmut, has pledged to pull them from the city and turn its defense over to Russia's uniformed ranks, risking a disorganized turnover of troops.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Both sides made outsize investments in men and matériel to take and hold a relatively small and now-devastated Bakhmut. Members of Ukraine's 93rd Mechanized Brigade firing a mortar, above, and driving past destroyed vehicles outside the city on Friday.

Wagner "isn't really designed for defensive operations," Mr. Lee said.

Mr. Prigozhin's Wagner group has proved to be one of Ukraine's most formidable foes and it remains unclear how its departure from the battlefield could affect Ukraine's ability to put pressure on Bakhmut and beyond.

Military analysts, Western intelligence agencies and Ukrainian officials have argued over the strategic significance of the Bakhmut campaign for months. Moscow could have invested the resources elsewhere on the front line instead of wasting lives and ammunition for a few miles of land, they said. Kyiv could have retreated earlier, saving its battalions, brigades and supplies for future offensives.

Both sides' decisions to stand and fight will have lasting effects on their future maneuvers.

The battle for Bakhmut was unique in that the Wagner group relied on formations of prison inmates to attack Ukrainian trenches, to both overwhelm their defenses and expose Ukraine's firing positions. Russia's ability to replenish its ranks, often with undertrained forces, had at one point been one of its advantages as it forced Ukraine to risk its better-trained units to stop raw troops the Russians treated as expendable.

But Ukraine fought back, despite losing ground in the city and taking an outsized number of casualties. Its forces took advantage of the open fields and tree lines on the outskirts, and used Western-supplied precision artillery such as HIMARS rocket launchers and 155-mm howitzers to wound and kill Russian troops at a distance.

Now, Moscow has to decide whether to try to advance west of Bakhmut. A few miles away lies the town of Chasiv Yar, but Ukraine can pull back to high ground in between, where it could fire down at advancing Russian troops. More likely, the Russians will focus on defending Bakhmut and its approaches.

The aftershocks of the battle for Bakhmut are not yet fully known, both in terms of overall casualties on both sides or how much equipment or ammunition was lost or destroyed. Western estimates early this year put Russia's casualties in wounded and dead at about 200,000 since its invasion, and Ukraine's are thought to be similar. The fight for Bakhmut has since claimed thousands more casualties.

"This chapter will close, even as fighting continues in the fields outside the city, but it speaks volumes about the Ukrainian will to fight, though soldiers may wonder whether the fight for Bakhmut was driven by political considerations over military ones," Mr. Kofman said.

Vaunted French Ban on Short Domestic Flights Is a Pale Shade of Green

By AURELIEN BREEDEN

PARIS — When the French government officially enacted a ban on short domestic flights this week, it hailed the measure as proof that France was at the vanguard of ambitious climate change policies. But critics say it's much ado about almost nothing.

"We are the first to do it," President Emmanuel Macron wrote in a celebratory message on Twitter, which also included a picture that said "Promise Kept" stamped in green ink.

At first glance, the promise would seem to have been kept: Any flight between two cities that can be replaced by a train ride of less than 2.5 hours is banned. In a country smaller than Texas and with an extensive high-speed rail network, that would appear to rule out a large number of domestic flights.

But appearances can be deceiving.

The decree formalizing the ban, which was published on Tuesday, is riddled with exceptions.

It applies only to cities connected by direct train service running "several times a day" and enabling travelers to spend a minimum of eight hours at their destination.

It does not apply to connecting flights, and it carves out an exception for the Paris Roissy-Charles de Gaulle airport, one of Europe's busiest passenger hubs, so that air routes between Charles de Gaulle and other French cities will stand.

Finally, since a significant amount of the nation's high-speed train traffic is routed through Paris, only a limited number of cities away from the capital have direct train service between each other that would satisfy the rules in the decree.

When all is said and done, only three routes are actually cut — those between Paris-Orly airport and the cities of Nantes, Bordeaux and Lyon.

The exceptions are meant to ensure that train service between two cities is sufficiently robust before flights between those same destinations are outlawed. But for critics, the confusing jumble of conditions has made the measure largely toothless.

"All that fuss, for not that much," said Geneviève Laferrère, who handles transportation issues for France Nature Environnement, a federation of environmental defense groups.

Ms. Laferrère acknowledged that the ban could have an "educational" impact, by further encouraging travelers to look at alternatives to flying. But she said the government had missed an opportunity to act more forcefully, adding, "There are so many constraints that the effectiveness is gone."

The ban on short domestic flights was part of a wide-ranging law to tackle climate change that was passed in 2021 with the goal of lowering France's greenhouse gas emissions. Mr. Macron's government recently unveiled an accelerated road map to cut those by 50 percent by 2030, compared with 1990 levels.

The government insists the ban is an important move in that direction.

"This is an essential step and a strong symbol in our policy to reduce greenhouse gas emissions," Clément Beaune, the French transportation minister, said of the flight ban, in a statement on Tuesday that trumpeted the measure as a "world first."

Although the ban was only enacted this week, airlines had already been following it for several years. In 2020, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the government forced Air France to cut some routes in exchange for a financial aid package worth billions of euros; it then banned competitors from rushing in to fill the gap.

An environmental measure is riddled with exceptions.

But the ban's official implementation was delayed after the airline industry filed complaints with the European Commission, which gave its greenlight for the law in December. The ban will apply for at least three years, after which the French authorities will analyze its impact before taking any new steps.

Nicolas Paulissen, the executive director of the French Airport Union, said that the air transportation industry was satisfied by the ban's limited impact but worried that it could set a precedent for harsher measures.

"Tackling domestic flights doesn't fix the issue of air transport's CO2 emissions," Mr. Paulissen added.

In 2019, domestic flights accounted for only 4 percent of the French transportation industry's CO2 emissions, according to official statistics.

And according to an analysis of civil aviation data by Le Monde, the three routes that will be cut account for only about 5,000 flights per year — less than 3 percent of the total number of annual domestic flights in France. The French authorities have acknowledged that cutting those three routes reduced emissions only by about 55,000 tons of CO2 per year.

Laurent Donceel, the acting managing director at Airlines For Europe, an industry lobbying group for Europe's largest flagship and low-cost airlines, said on Wednesday that countries should focus on "tangible" goals, like sustainable aviation fuel and electric and hydrogen-powered aircraft. He noted that airlines have committed to reaching net-zero carbon emissions by 2050.

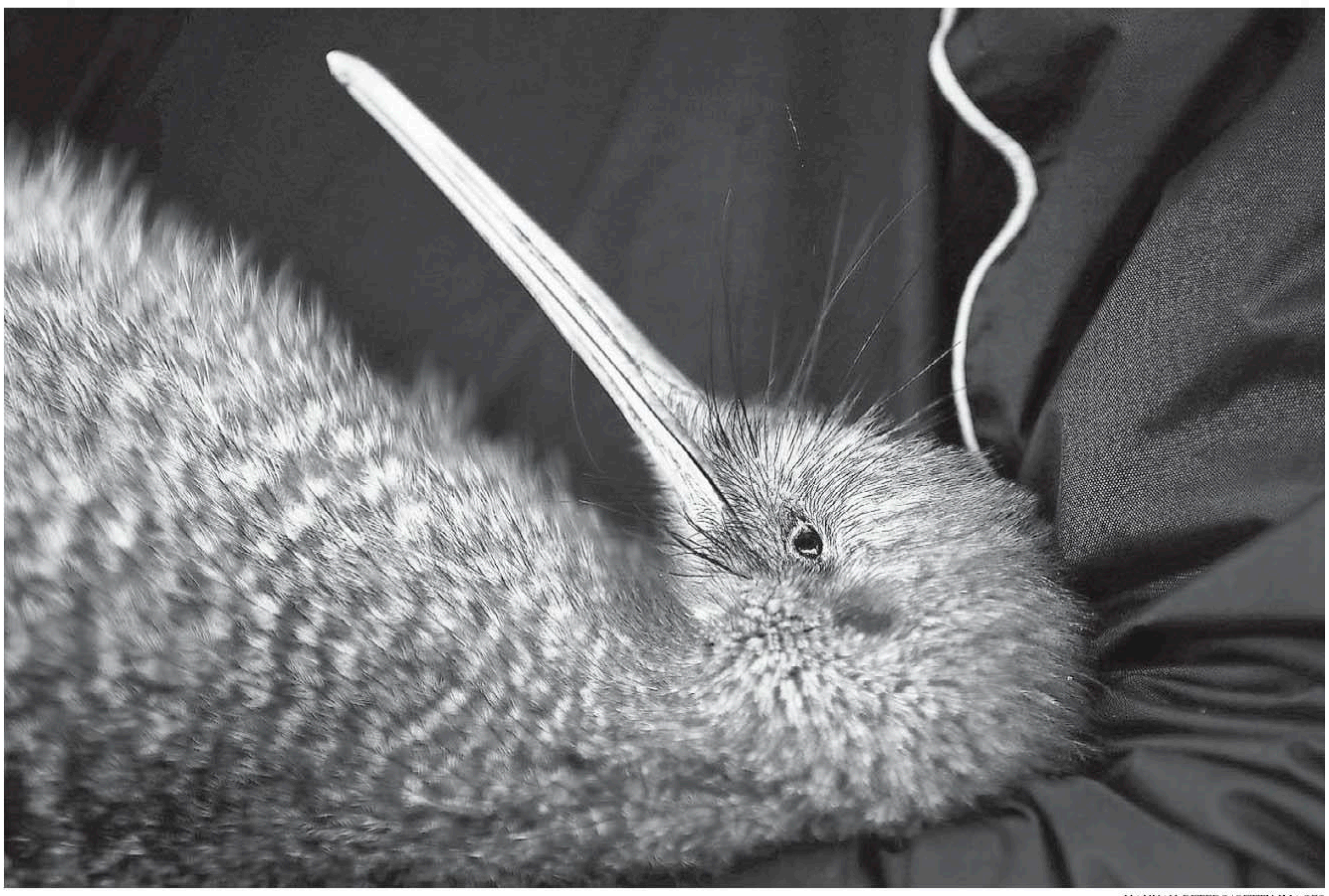
"Instead of pursuing tokenistic bans, governments need to throw their efforts into advancing these real, meaningful solutions," Mr. Donceel said in a statement.

But Ms. Laferrère, of France Nature Environnement, said that the government also needed to make rail transportation more alluring, by helping the national railway company push ticket prices down and investing more in railway infrastructure.

Moreover, she said, if the ban on short-haul flights only encourages French airports to reallocate more takeoff slots to long-distance ones, "we aren't going to be saving a whole lot of CO2."

A Bird in Hand in Miami Ruffles Feathers in New Zealand

By NATASHA FROST



HANNAH PETERS/GETTY IMAGES

Footage of the kiwi Paora being petted by Zoo Miami visitors caused an outcry in New Zealand, where it is the national bird.

Shy and retiring by nature, with a preference for solitude and the dark, few would describe Paora, 4, as a natural diplomat.

Yet this Miami-based kiwi — one of about 60 of the flightless birds living in zoos outside their native New Zealand — has been forced into the international spotlight, literally and figuratively.

Footage of Paora being petted by zoo visitors under fluorescent lights has caused an outcry in New Zealand, where it is common knowledge that the national bird is nocturnal and should not be handled other than by experts. Zoo Miami apologized this week, saying that it would no longer allow members of the public to touch him.

"I immediately went to the zoo director, and I said, 'We have offended a nation,'" Ron Magill, a spokesman for the zoo, told Radio New Zealand on Wednesday.

The episode has revealed the potential pitfalls of what might be called "kiwi diplomacy" — New Zealand's practice of sending kiwi to foreign zoos, much as China does more famously with pandas.

The video of Paora, which was posted to social media, showed him being scratched and petted around the neck and face by a zookeeper, as well as members of the public. More than 10,000 people, many of them New Zealanders, have since signed a petition calling for the zoo to end its "Kiwi Encounter" program, which allowed visitors to have contact with the bird.

Even Prime Minister Chris Hipkins was forced to weigh in. "They've acknowledged that what they were doing wasn't appropriate, or wasn't right, or wasn't fair to the kiwi," he said of the zoo on Wednesday. "That's really all we can ask of them."

For many decades, the kiwi has played a small but meaningful part in New Zealand's relationships with other countries. As with China's "panda diplomacy," the idea is to celebrate bilateral ties and to improve breeding outcomes for captive populations.

New Zealand's rules are rather less stringent than China's, but there are certain requirements for participating zoos. Kiwi that die must be repatriated to New Zealand for burial. Since 2010, feathers shed by kiwi at the Smithsonian's National Zoo in Washington, D.C., have been collected and sent back to New Zealand as "taonga," the Maori word for treasure.

Kiwi have been at the Washington zoo since 1968, when then-Prime Minister Keith Holyoake personally presented the facility with two of the birds. Ten years later, another breeding pair was given to the Frankfurt Zoo, where they and their descendants have produced dozens of long-beaked progeny.

New Zealand's program has never gotten the attention that China's has, but its leaders have kept a keen eye on the birds' diplomatic potential. In 2010, then-Prime Minister John Key suggested that kiwi might be swapped for pandas. "I know people pay $10 million, but we're a special friend of China, why couldn't we give them some kiwis?" he told local news media at the time. "Two for two, kiwis are worth a lot." (So far, at least, that has not happened.)

Paora is related to two birds, named Tamatahi and Hinetu, that were presented to the Washington zoo in 2010, as part of a plan to inject more genetic diversity into small kiwi populations in captivity.

He was transported to Miami as an egg in 2019, and was given his name in a ceremony later that year by visiting representatives from New Zealand, including Rosemary Banks, the ambassador to the United States.

But since the release of the Kiwi Encounter video, New Zealanders, including Paora Haitana, the bird's namesake and an environmentalist and Maori leader who was part of that visiting group, have questioned whether it is being appropriately cared for in its Florida home.

Hilary Aikman, a top official for New Zealand's department of conservation, said in a statement this week that the department would raise concerns with the zoo "to try to improve the housing and handling situation." Mr. Magill, the spokesman for the zoo, acknowledged to Radio New Zealand that it had "made a huge mistake." ("Please know that Paora is normally kept out of public view in a quiet area," the zoo said in its apology.)

Animal diplomacy has featured in various countries' foreign policy for centuries, and it often includes stipulations for the animals' care, said Nancy Cushing, a researcher at the University of Newcastle in Australia.

"There's this reflected glory both for the person who has given the gift and for the recipient to have something which is so exotic and eye-catching," she said. "It amplifies the power on both sides and cements the relationship between the two rulers or governments."

But it can go wrong, Dr. Cushing said, particularly when expectations of how an animal will be cared for are not met.

"It's like other kinds of diplomacy — it can fail," she said.

Officer Used Stun Gun. Woman, 95, Later Died.

By NATASHA FROST

A 95-year-old woman whom a police officer in Australia used a stun gun on last week has died in a hospital, the authorities said Wednesday, not long after announcing charges against the officer, who used the stun gun to repel her when she approached him while holding a steak knife.

The case provoked outrage around Australia as circumstances of the confrontation between the woman, Clare Nowland, and the police officer emerged. Ms. Nowland, who had dementia, used a walker and weighed 95 pounds, fell and fractured her skull after a senior constable used the stun gun on her in the care facility where she lived.

The police confirmed her death in a statement on social media. "Mrs. Nowland passed away peacefully in hospital just after 7 p.m. this evening, surrounded by family and loved ones," a representative of the New South Wales police force said.

A few hours before her death, the police said that Kristian White, 33, the officer who used the weapon, would be charged with recklessly causing grievous bodily harm, assault occasioning actual bodily harm, and common assault. Mr. White, who has 12 years' experience as a police officer, is expected to appear in court on July 5. He has been suspended from work with pay while the investigation continues.

On May 17, the police went to the Yallambee Lodge care facility where Ms. Nowland lived, because of a report about a resident with a knife, according to Peter Cotter, assistant commissioner of the New South Wales police.

Ms. Nowland, a great-grandmother, was "armed" with a "serrated-edge" steak knife that she had obtained from the kitchen, Mr. Cotter said at a news conference last week. He added that efforts to negotiate with her had failed. "For whatever reason," he said, "Clare did not drop the knife."

Speaking at a news conference on Wednesday before Ms. Nowland's death, Karen Webb, the police commissioner, said that the episode had also been "traumatic" for other officers.

"The community of New South Wales have trust in their police force," she added. "This is one incident out of many, many calls for service, out of two million calls for service every year that we respond to, for all sorts of things."

Mr. White has not been charged with murder or manslaughter. The commissioner said it was possible the charges could change.

The episode, which was caught on a body camera, has drawn condemnation from many in Australia, particularly among rights activists and advocates for the disabled, who have questioned whether the officer responded appropriately to the situation.

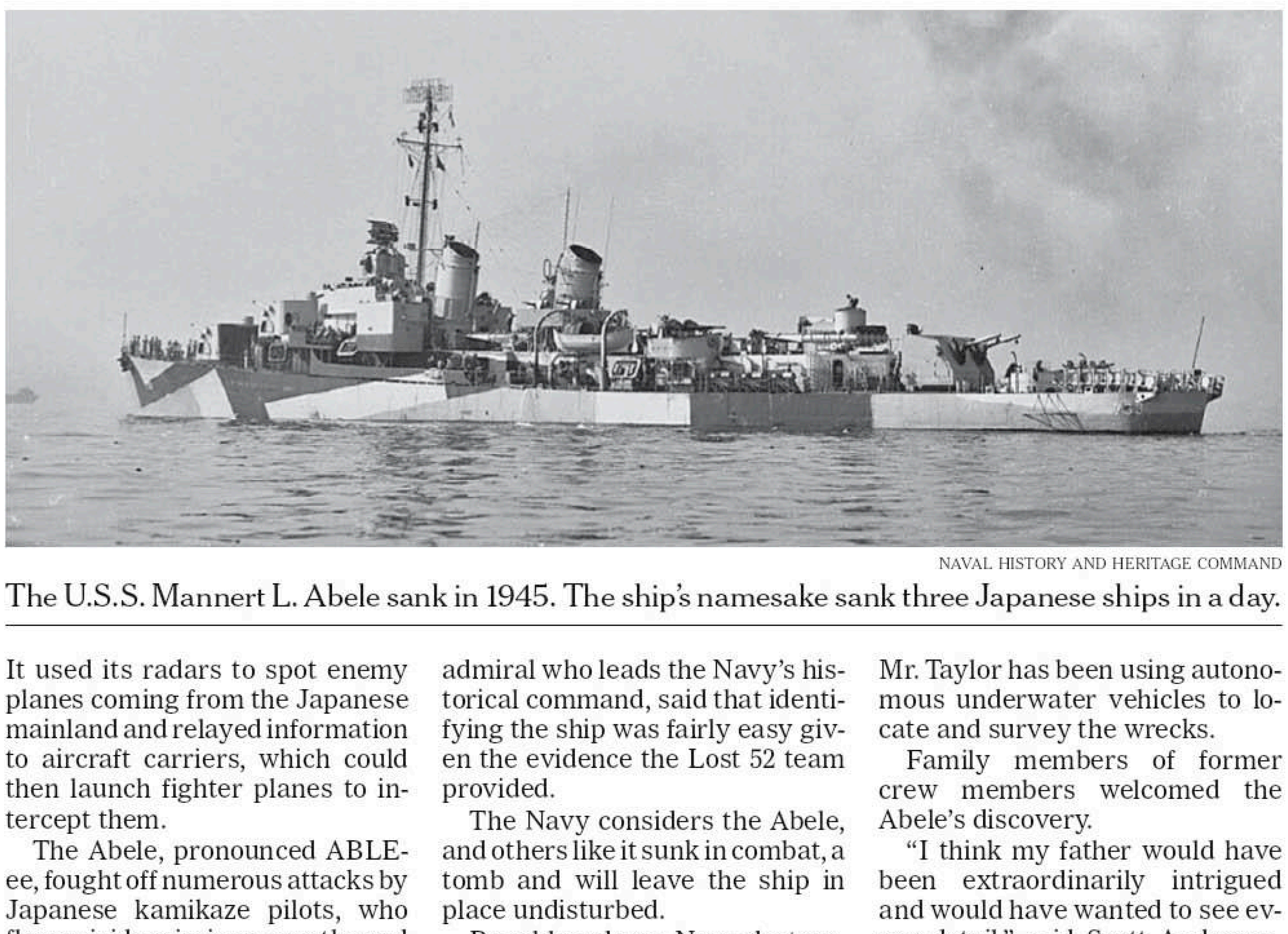
Official guidelines for the New South Wales police say that stun guns should not be used on older or disabled people "unless exceptional circumstances exist."

AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP., VIA A.P.

Clare Nowland after a sky-dive in Canberra in an image made from a 2008 video.

Navy Destroyer Sunk in World War II Discovered Off Okinawa

By JOHN ISMAY



NAVAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE COMMAND

The U.S.S. Mannert L. Abele sank in 1945. The ship's namesake sank three Japanese ships in a day.

WASHINGTON — A U.S. Navy destroyer sunk in 1945 by a kamikaze aircraft during the Battle of Okinawa in World War II has been discovered by a group of civilian underwater explorers deep in the Pacific Ocean, the group's leader said on Wednesday.

The U.S.S. Mannert L. Abele was the first warship hit by what was then a new Japanese weapon called an Ohka — essentially a flying bomb capable of reaching speeds of 600 miles per hour.

A group called the Lost 52 Project, which searches for Navy submarines and warships sunk during World War II, found the ship in December.

The U.S. Navy's Naval History and Heritage Command in Washington, which is responsible for tracking the 3,000 ships and submarines the service has lost at sea in both peacetime and war, confirmed the discovery in April.

"The Battle of Okinawa was the biggest battle of the Pacific campaign," said Tim Taylor, who leads the Lost 52 Project. "Fifty thousand casualties just on the U.S. side, so it's a monumental find."

"And it's a very deep connection for me," he added. "My dad's ship was hit by a kamikaze just 10 days before the Abele was sunk in the same area — maybe 90 miles south of there."

The small warship was one of many that encircled Okinawa during the campaign to take the island by force during World War II. It used its radars to spot enemy planes coming from the Japanese mainland and relayed information to aircraft carriers, which could then launch fighter planes to intercept them.

The Abele, pronounced ABLE-ee, fought off numerous attacks by Japanese kamikaze pilots, who flew suicide missions near the end of World War II. But it succumbed after two planes crashed into its starboard side and exploded, sending it to the bottom. Its precise location — until recently — had been unknown.

In all, 84 sailors from the Abele were killed by the twin explosions, the sinking of the ship or Japanese pilots who strafed and bombed the survivors in the water afterward.

Sam Cox, a retired Navy rear admiral who leads the Navy's historical command, said that identifying the ship was fairly easy given the evidence the Lost 52 team provided.

The Navy considers the Abele, and others like it sunk in combat, a tomb and will leave the ship in place undisturbed.

Roughly a dozen Navy destroyers like the Abele were sunk during the Okinawa campaign along with other ships, killing about 5,000 sailors, Admiral Cox said.

The Lost 52 Project, which takes its name from the number of U.S. Navy submarines that went missing in World War II, has located a number of wrecks, including the U.S.S. Grayback — a submarine that sunk in combat off Okinawa the year before the Abele. Mr. Taylor has been using autonomous underwater vehicles to locate and survey the wrecks.

Family members of former crew members welcomed the Abele's discovery.

"I think my father would have been extraordinarily intrigued and would have wanted to see every detail," said Scott Andersen, whose father, Roy, served as a junior officer aboard the Abele. "But I'm not sure what trauma that might stir up."

In 2007, Roy Andersen wrote a book about the ship's wartime service titled "Three Minutes Off Okinawa." He died in 2014 at age 94, his son said.

"He once told me he rarely had a good night's sleep since the ship sank," Mr. Andersen said.

The ship's namesake, Lt. Cmdr. Mannert L. Abele, commanded the U.S.S. Grunion, a submarine that was lost at sea. He received the Navy Cross posthumously for sinking three Japanese ships in a single day during the war. The Navy commissioned a ship in his honor on July 4, 1944.

According to a Navy history of the Abele, on April 12, 1945, the ship "suddenly found herself surrounded by hostile planes" while patrolling 75 miles off the northern coast of Okinawa. At 1:38 p.m., the ship's gun crews hit one Japanese dive-bomber, lighting it on fire and sending it crashing into the ocean. About an hour later, three Japanese Zero fighter planes approached. The Abele shot one down but a second crashed into the ship's starboard side and exploded, killing nine sailors.

One minute later, the Abele was hit again, but this time by a rocket-powered aircraft called an Ohka, Japanese for "cherry blossom." The Ohka's pilot crashed into the ship, and the more than 2,600 pounds of explosives it carried detonated, breaking the Abele in two and sinking it in 4,500 feet of water.

The Abele and other Navy warships around Okinawa helped to draw kamikaze attacks away from troop transports and supply ships supporting the battle ashore, Admiral Cox said.

"The ships couldn't run away," Admiral Cox said. "They had to stay and fight."

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A Year After a Massacre: What Has Changed?

By EDGAR SANDOVAL

UVALDE, Texas — The shooting at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas, last May in some ways changed the conversation yet again on gun violence in the United States: 19 fourth-grade students and two teachers died in one of the deadliest school shootings in American history.

But what made the Uvalde attack extraordinary was not just the death toll. It was the fact that more than 370 officers from local, state and federal agencies had responded to the scene — some standing in the school hallway — but allowed the gunman to remain holed up with students inside the school for 77 minutes before storming in to kill him.

In the aftermath, that left a host of questions, not only about the laws governing access to guns but also about police training, emergency responses, school security and preparedness, and who ultimately would be held accountable for a failure that occurred on so many levels.

In the year since the attack, a number of people have resigned or lost their jobs. New laws have been debated, and some have been passed. Criminal investigations have been opened. Survivors have undergone months of physical therapy.

Those who did not survive have been buried.

Did any of it make another mass shooting less likely? In Uvalde, people have had their doubts.

"Almost a year now, and honestly nothing has changed," Jesse Rizo, the uncle of one of the massacre victims, told the Uvalde school board in the weeks before Wednesday's anniversary of the shooting.

The Attack

The gunman climbed a low fence and entered the school through what turned out to be an unlocked door at around 11:30 a.m. that Tuesday, as students in the classrooms mainly targeted, Rooms 111 and 112, were watching movies. Within minutes, several officers, including the chief of the small school police force, Pete Arredondo, arrived and followed the sounds of gunfire to the two classrooms. Two officers were grazed by bullets as they approached one of the classroom doors and pulled back.

Mr. Arredondo made the decision to treat the situation not as an active shooting but as a barricaded subject incident, and a decision was made to wait until a heavily armed tactical team from the Border Patrol arrived with better equipment to breach the classroom.

Steven McCraw, the head of the Texas Department of Public Safety, immediately laid most of the blame on Mr. Arredondo for the delay, but a special Texas House committee report on the shooting found that the failure was "systemic," noting that scores of officers were there and that they also failed to act, even as children were dialing 911 from inside the classrooms.

Would a faster police response have saved lives? There is still no clear answer to that question. The victims suffered terrible injuries and most appear to have died right away. But some died on the way to the hospital and in a final footnote in the report, the committee concluded, "It is plausible that some victims could have survived if they had not had to wait" for rescue.

Jobs Lost

Mr. Arredondo was among the first to go, when the school board voted unanimously in August to fire him, to the sound of cheers and claps in the packed school auditorium. Lawyers for Mr. Arredondo, who has said that officers reasonably focused on preventing the bloodshed from expanding to other classrooms, called his firing "an unconstitutional public lynching."

The school district later dismantled its entire police force, which consisted of five officers, and is still in the process of revamping it with new hires.

The city police force did not emerge unchanged, either: The lieutenant who was in charge on May 24 while the police chief was on vacation, Mariano Pargas Jr., stepped down in mid-November after 18 years in the force.

And amid pressure from the families of the 21 victims, Hal Harrell, the school superintendent, retired in the fall. He was replaced in the interim by Gary Patterson, a former superintendent from San Antonio.

The Texas Department of Public Safety, the state police agency that includes the Texas Rangers, also took steps to push out at least two out of the seven officers who were under investigation for their role in the response, including Sgt. Juan Maldonado and a Texas Ranger, Christopher Ryan Kindell, although some of those investigations are still pending.

The local district attorney, Christina Mitchell, is still looking into whether criminal charges should be brought against any of the police responders. Ms. Mitchell has said that she intends to present any evidence of criminal wrongdoing to a grand jury. No decision is expected for months.

Investigations are also still pending from the Justice Department and the City of Uvalde, which has hired an independent investigator.

"Everybody that was there that day has to be held accountable," said Uvalde's mayor, Don McLaughlin.

The response by officers in Uvalde has been broadly condemned. But it has not resulted in immediate changes to how police officers are trained in Texas. Last July, Mr. McCraw, the state public safety director, said his agency would "provide proper training and guidelines for recognizing and overcoming poor command decisions at an active shooter scene."

But several policing experts said that creating that kind of training presented a challenge because countermanding orders from an incident commander went against the very orientation of most police departments. And the state has yet to roll out new training based on last year's directive.

In the meantime, the focus has been on increased safety precautions and better equipment. In Uvalde, local police now have additional ballistic shields and helmets, as well as new tools for breaching barricaded doors. At schools in Uvalde, school administrators have installed new eight-foot fences, sensors that would alert staff if a door did not lock properly and more security cameras to monitor activity outside all schools.

School to Be Demolished

The school where the attack occurred sits behind chain-link fencing with its windows boarded over, and is slated to be demolished as soon as lawsuits and the pending investigations are concluded. Ms. Mitchell, the district attorney, and many victims' families are among those taking legal action to block the demolition of the school until there is no further need to collect evidence from the crime scene. Mr. Patterson, the interim superintendent, said plans for a permanent memorial were under discussion, but it has not yet been decided what and where that would be.

A new elementary school is to be built three miles from where Robb Elementary now sits. The new school, which does not have a name yet, is scheduled to open its doors in 2024, said Eulalio Diaz Jr., a member of an advisory committee overseeing planning for the new campus. Early designs include the colors of papel picado, the traditional Mexican folk art that features multicolor sheets of paper — in recognition of the Hispanic culture that has long been a large part of Uvalde, and the families at Robb Elementary.

For now, Robb Elementary's students have been dispersed to other schools.

Changes in Gun Laws

Texas has moved to widen access to firearms in the year since the shooting.

Months before the attack, Texas lawmakers did away with permit requirements to carry handguns. After the attack, the state also effectively lowered the age required for carrying a handgun to 18 from 21, once officials stopped defending the higher age limit in court in December.

There had been slight movement in the Legislature in early May, when a bill that would have raised the age to purchase an AR-15-style rifle to 21 from 18 received a favorable vote in a House committee. The legislation would possibly have prevented the 18-year-old gunman in Uvalde from purchasing the weapon he used in the massacre.

But the bill missed a key deadline and failed to receive a vote in the full Texas House.

Elsewhere in the country, there has been a mixed record on gun control laws proposed since Uvalde, with access restricted or expanded depending on which party is in control.

Washington State, where Democrats control state government, last month became at least the ninth state to join efforts to prevent the distribution of AR-15s and other powerful rifles often used by mass shooters, after the earlier lead of states like California, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts.

Republicans have moved in the opposite direction, with lawmakers in several states introducing legislation to expand the ability to carry concealed weapons without a permit and eliminate such things as gun-free zones.

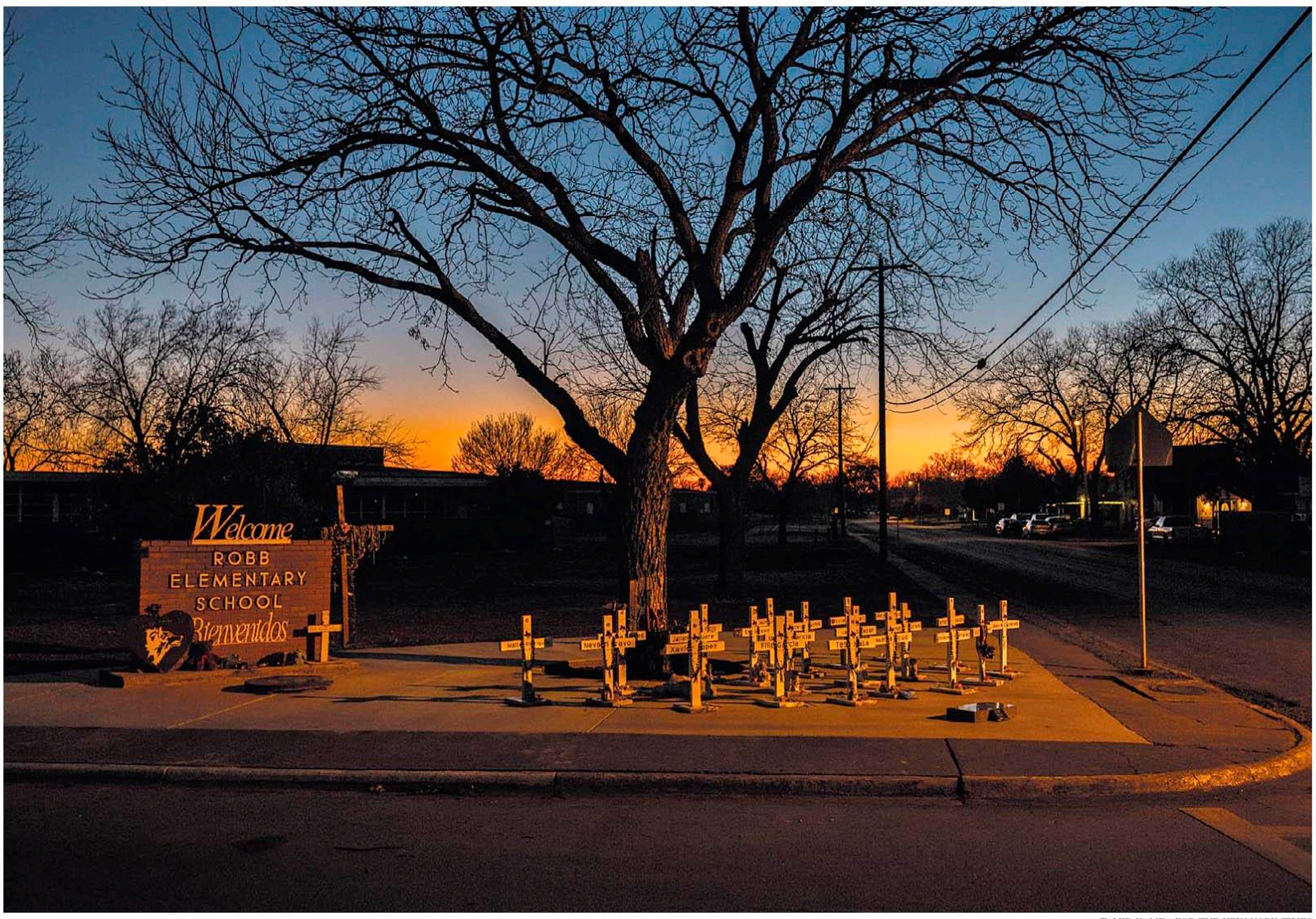
Last summer the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill that would have reinstated a federal ban on assault weapons, but it stalled in the Senate.

Also last summer, Congress passed a new federal gun bill that brought the often-divided legislature together, galvanized by the tragedy in Uvalde. Democrats and just enough Republicans approved a measure that enhances background checks for potential gun buyers under 21, allowing law enforcement to check juvenile records, including mental health records, starting at 16. President Biden has signed it into law.

The law also provides millions of dollars for states to put red flag laws in place, strengthens laws against straw purchasing and trafficking of guns, and provides funding for mental health crisis intervention.

Gun violence activists, including the Uvalde families, said they planned to return to Washington to lobby for a total ban on assault weapons.

J. David Goodman contributed reporting.



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CALLAGHAN O'HARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Clockwise from top: Crosses honoring the 19 children and two teachers killed in the shooting still stand outside Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas; family members of children killed in the massacre at a school board meeting in Uvalde, in October; law enforcement personnel at a memorial ceremony a week after the shooting.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Families at the Texas State Capitol in Austin as part of a Day of the Dead rally and march in November.

One Year After the Attack, Biden Implores Congress To Stop the Next Uvalde

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Biden, in a somber speech evoking the pain of the death of two of his own children, implored Congress on Wednesday to "please do something" to stop the flow of guns involved in mass shootings like the school massacre that killed 19 children and two teachers a year ago in Uvalde, Texas.

Marking the anniversary of the killings, Mr. Biden called again for tighter laws on firearms, including a ban on assault weapons like the one used by the killer in Uvalde. But he implicitly acknowledged that the chances of passing such gun laws anytime soon were slim, and he offered no new ideas for how to overcome entrenched opposition.

"How many more parents will live their worst nightmare before we stand up to the gun lobby?" the president asked during a brief speech at the White House, flanked by the first lady, Jill Biden, and standing in front of 21 burning candles honoring the victims. "It's time to act, it's time to act," he added. "It's time to make our voices heard, not as Democrats or as Republicans but as friends, as neighbors as parents, as fellow Americans."

Calling again for bipartisan support to ban assault weapons.

In a nod to the political reality of a Congress heavily influenced by gun rights activists and to the frustrations of many families of those killed, he said: "I know for a long time it's been hard to make progress. But there will come a point when our voices are so loud, our determination so clear, that we can no longer be stopped. We will act."

Mr. Biden's statement came a year after a gunman burst into Robb Elementary School in the small Texas town of Uvalde and opened fire on a fourth-grade class in one of the deadliest such campus attacks in American history. More than 370 police officers responded but failed to confront the gunman for 77 minutes. School and police officials later lost their jobs and the school district dismantled its police force altogether. The school building is set to be demolished.

But the slaughter did little to move lawmakers at the state or national level. While a Texas legislative committee advanced a bill raising the age to buy an AR-15-style rifle to 21 from 18, the bill never got a vote on the House floor. The state also stopped defending in court a higher age requirement for carrying a handgun, effectively lowering the age for that to 18 from 21.

Congress passed legislation with modest changes, enhancing background checks for gun buyers under 21, increasing funds for mental health crisis intervention, bolstering laws against straw purchases and encouraging states to enact red-flag laws authorizing the government to temporarily take guns away from anyone deemed likely to pose a danger to themselves or others. Mr. Biden signed those measures into law.

In his statement on Wednesday, Mr. Biden said that legislation did not go far enough and again called on Congress to ban assault weapons and high-capacity magazines, impose universal background checks, require safe storage of firearms, pass a national red-flag law and eliminate immunity from liability for the gun industry.

The National Rifle Association has resisted such laws, calling them part of a larger campaign by leftist politicians to undermine the Second Amendment and ultimately take guns away from law-abiding citizens.

"Gun-hating politicians, media, and activists label law-abiding Americans as crazy if we even begin suggest their end goal is confiscation," the group wrote on Twitter this week, citing a White House post on that platform advocating an assault weapon ban. "They scream, 'No one is coming for your guns!' However, today's White House tweet advocating for widespread gun bans contradicts this."

During his speech at the White House, Mr. Biden addressed the loved ones of those killed in Uvalde in personal terms. "To the families of the children and educators, we know one year later it's still so raw for you," Mr. Biden said. "A year of missed birthdays and holidays, school plays, soccer games, just that smile. A year of everyday joy is gone forever. The bend of his smile, the perfect pitch of her laugh."

He made clear he was speaking from experience, later alluding to his traumas as a parent who lost his first wife and 1-year-old daughter in a car accident in 1972 and then his grown son Beau Biden to cancer in 2015.

"While everyone's pain is different, we like many of you have some understanding of what it's like to lose a child — on more than one occasion," he said. "For those who've lost a loved one in Uvalde, to the moms and dads, the brothers, the sisters, the grandmoms, the grandpops, this is what I know," he said. "They'll never be gone from your heart, they'll always be part of you."

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden gave a somber speech marking the anniversary of the shooting that killed 21 people at a school in Uvalde, Texas.

JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

No End to National Division Over Gun Policy

By SHAILA DEWAN

Less than a month after 19 children and two teachers died in the elementary school shooting last year in Uvalde, Texas, the U.S. Senate passed the most significant gun control bill since the long-expired federal ban on assault weapons.

The very same day, June 23, the Supreme Court upended gun policy in jurisdictions with some of the country's strictest laws, like New York, Washington, D.C. and California, saying for the first time that people have the right to carry guns outside their homes.

In a country already raw with anger over gun policy, the new law from Congress and the sweeping decision by the Supreme Court only intensified the national fight over guns, spurring fresh legal challenges and legislative debates in courts and statehouses across the country.

And in the year since Uvalde — the deadliest school shooting since the 2012 massacre in Newtown, Conn. — both sides of the issue have made gains and endured setbacks as they seek to define the role of guns in American life.

From Colorado to Michigan to New Jersey, proponents of gun regulation have passed laws intended to limit access to firearms or blunt the effects of the Supreme Court case, New York State Rifle & Pistol Association Inc. v. Bruen.

Opponents have moved swiftly to contest many such restrictions, using Bruen as the basis for one court challenge after another. And in states that were already gun friendly, gun rights groups have worked to further expand access to firearms.

In April, Florida became the largest state besides Texas to do away with permit requirements, joining the broad swath of the country where it has become easier than ever to carry a gun.

Even in the face of such striking changes, gun control supporters say their side is gaining ground. They point to a succession of legislative wins and to polls showing increasing public support for some degree of regulation. A poll released on Wednesday by NPR, PBS and Marist College found that 60 percent of Americans think it is more important to control gun violence than to protect gun rights.

In the past week, Minnesota and Michigan became the 20th and 21st states to enact red flag laws designed to keep firearms out of the hands of people who are at risk of harming themselves or others. In New York last August, the state established gun-free zones in sensitive areas like Times Square. And in New Jersey in December, the governor signed into law a long list of places where guns were not permitted.

JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Senator Chris Murphy of Connecticut addressing a group in Washington as they waited for a bipartisan gun bill to pass last year. Center, other anti-gun violence activists in the capital. Above, family members of those killed in the shooting at Robb Elementary in Uvalde, Texas, at a rally last year in Austin, Texas.

The court challenges to some of those laws have been swift. In New York, a federal judge blocked parts of the law, but it has remained in effect while the state appeals. And just last week, a federal judge issued a preliminary injunction blocking many provisions of the New Jersey law. The judge said the state could not forbid guns in many of the settings set forth in the new law, including bars, doctors' offices and zoos, though private business owners could chose to do so.

This week, New Jersey's attorney general asked a federal appeals court to put the lower court's injunction on hold while the state appealed the ruling.

Dudley Brown, the president of the National Association for Gun Rights, which opposes any restrictions on gun ownership, said the Bruen decision was a bulwark against regulation and would help his organization win a host of lawsuits against gun restrictions.

But he said that even with the Bruen ruling, a monumental victory in the Supreme Court, the fight would be playing out for years in state legislatures and lower courts that now have to interpret the decision. "It often feels like one step forward, two steps back," he said.

Public opinion has long favored limiting access to guns, with the share of Americans saying that "laws covering the sale of firearms should be made more strict" rarely dipping below half, according to Gallup. After the Uvalde shooting, the share rose to two-thirds of Americans.

And gun control advocates have learned from their defeats, organizing and building political infrastructure. "I worked in Congress for many years. I was never lobbied by a representative of a gun safety organization," said Peter Ambler, referring to groups like the one he now directs, the Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, that support limiting access to firearms. Now, Mr. Ambler said, such organizations have public opinion on their side and clout on Capitol Hill.

Mass shootings have brought days of fiery protests even to statehouses where gun rights have long been sacrosanct, like Austin, Texas, where the families of Uvalde victims waited long hours to testify, and Nashville, where thousands of people clamored for an assault weapons ban, a red flag law and other gun control measures after three adults and three children were fatally shot by an assailant at the Covenant School in March.

Gun regulation advocates say that red flag laws could prevent shootings like the one in Nashville, in which the suspect identified by the police had been in treatment for an emotional disorder and had recently purchased seven guns.

But the legislature took no action, other than expelling two Democratic lawmakers who took the protest to the chamber floor. Now Gov. Bill Lee, a Republican, is saying that he will call lawmakers to a special session in August to address public safety. "There is broad agreement that action is needed," the governor said in a statement.

Even when such modest steps do not yield results, gun regulation advocates see glimmers of progress, as when Republicans on a Texas legislative committee voted to approve a bill to raise the minimum age to buy assault weapons, only to have it blocked from reaching the floor.

"We've seen these fissures emerge among elected Republicans," Mr. Ambler said. Advocates contrast the political calculus today to another moment when a terrible shooting was met with demands for action: the Sandy Hook school shooting in Newtown.

A federal bill to expand background checks was defeated, with some Congressional Democrats breaking ranks to vote no. Last summer, it was the other way around: 14 Republicans broke with their party to vote for the federal gun bill, called the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act.

Some gun control advocates say that efforts to make it easier to carry guns can coexist with measures that keep guns from those who intend to do harm.

"Laws that actually use a scalpel to really identify risk, and laws that can prevent that risk from turning into mayhem, is the most important thing to focus on," said John Feinblatt, the president of Everytown for Gun Safety, a gun control group founded by Michael R. Bloomberg, the billionaire media magnate and former New York City mayor. "This can't be a referendum on gun ownership. This is a referendum on safety."

Families Win Ruling on Nashville Attacker's Journals

By EMILY COCHRANE

Parents from about 100 families will be allowed to formally argue against the release of journals and writings left behind by the assailant who killed six people at a Christian school in Nashville, a judge said on Wednesday.

After journalists, a gun-rights organization and lawmakers sued to force the release of hundreds of pages of journals and writings left by the shooter, the parents of the three 9-year-olds killed and nearly all of their surviving classmates, as well as the school and adjoining church, had asked to join the case and argue against their publication.

The judge, Chancellor I'Ashea L. Myles of the Chancery Court in Davidson County, acknowledged that the parents "stand in a unique position stepping into the shoes of their minor children." And because those children are the victims of a crime currently under investigation by the police, the judge found that the parents had a right to intervene on their behalf.

The decision does not resolve the far more complicated question of whether and how to publish the writings of a mass shooter, and officials must still grapple with balancing constitutional rights, the public's desire for answers on motive, and fears of inspiring yet another act of devastating violence.

But the judge's order allows those most directly affected by the shooting an opportunity to make their case in court as victims and survivors. It came on the final day of school for Covenant School students, who gathered on Wednesday with parents, staff and Nashville police officers for chapel service.

Lawyers for the families said that though several parents wanted to remain anonymous amid fears of harassment, others were willing to either testify in court or submit written statements.

In her ruling, Chancellor Myles noted that there was little precedent in Tennessee for such an intervention, but she cited the legal protections offered to juvenile records, the attention on the case and the fact that children were targeted among her reasons for ruling in favor of the parents.

The judge also agreed to allow the Covenant School and the Covenant Presbyterian Church to intervene, finding that both institutions had "a sufficient personal stake" to warrant the opportunity to argue over the release of the writings.

In a separate six-page ruling, she wrote that she had been "stirred" by their argument that the writings could include information that would not necessarily have been accessible even under open records laws, as they are private institutions. She also acknowledged warnings from the police that an investigation into the shooting was still ongoing and that a premature release of the writings could jeopardize that work.

Nashville city and police officials, who had stonewalled public records requests citing the ongoing investigation, have submitted a redacted version of the writings for the court's review and signaled a willingness to release that version. While the police quickly shot and killed the assailant during the attack, they have yet to formally determine a motive or search a number of subpoenaed records.

The parents, however, have pleaded with the court to keep the entirety of the shooter's paper trail locked away, warning that it could further inflict pain and trauma. The school and church raised their own concerns about the safety of their buildings, and said releasing the writings could lay the foundation for other school shootings.

In a hearing on Monday, lawyers pushing for the swift release of the writings questioned whether the parents, school and church had the legal standing to intervene, or could assert the protections granted to crime victims. They also questioned whether a private school could assert certain privacy rights under a public records law, and warned against limiting the protections of the First Amendment.

Only a handful of officials — including Nashville city lawyers and F.B.I. employees — have reviewed the writings. Chancellor Myles, who has also examined the trove of writings, set a hearing schedule for lawyers to continue wrestling over the release of the documents.

DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A memorial outside the Covenant Presbyterian Church in Nashville for the six people killed at the Covenant School in March.

Hot Mic, Dead Air and Eventually, DeSantis Announces a Bid for 2024

From Page A1

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Advisers to Ron DeSantis, Florida's Republican governor, see early contests in Iowa and New Hampshire as crucial to his candidacy.

posted a donation button to his re-election campaign with the words, "This link works." The audience when Mr. DeSantis did deliver his remarks was smaller than it had been during the initial minutes when no one was speaking.

Despite his inauspicious start on Wednesday and having slipped well behind Mr. Trump in polls in recent months, Mr. DeSantis retains a host of strengths: a mountain of cash, a robust campaign operation and a series of conservative policy victories in Florida after a landslide re-election triumph last fall. The governor, who rose to national prominence with his restriction-averse handling of the coronavirus pandemic, argues that his "Florida Blueprint" can be a model for reshaping the United States in a starkly conservative mold, especially on social issues.

"American decline is not inevitable," Mr. DeSantis said. "It is a choice. And we should choose a new direction, a path that will lead to American revitalization." He accused Mr. Biden of taking "his cues from the woke mob."

Mr. DeSantis did not mention Mr. Trump by name. But he did sketch out some of the contrasts he is expected to sharpen in the coming months. "We must look forward, not backwards," he said on the Twitter Space livestream. "We need the courage to lead and we must have the strength to win."

The DeSantis campaign had invited prominent donors to Miami on Wednesday for a fund-raising event, hosting them at a conference space at the Four Seasons as the Twitter discussion was projected onto a large screen. Then they waited. And waited.

"Elon's got to staff up a little more to boost that server capacity," said Brandon Rosner, a donor from Milwaukee. He was not discouraged. "Once we got through the original glitch there, I think people were very excited," he said.

Mr. DeSantis is confronting the daunting endeavor of toppling a former president whose belligerence and loyal base of support have discouraged most leading Republicans from making frontal attacks against him. Mr. Trump, who has a mounting list of legal troubles, clearly sees Mr. DeSantis as a political threat and has unloaded on him for months, mocking him as "Ron DeSanctimonious" and slamming his stewardship of Florida.

"Trump is not as invincible as he once seemed and DeSantis is a serious contender," said Mike Murphy, a veteran Republican strategist. "There are Republican voters looking for someone who can move beyond Trump, someone who can fight the liberals but also win elections. That's the space DeSantis is trying to inhabit."

Mr. DeSantis's chances of capturing the nomination may depend on whether the Republican primary becomes a crowded, Trump-dominated food fight — something similar to what unfolded in 2016 — or if he can turn the contest into a two-man race. The Republican field has slowly ballooned, with Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina announcing a bid this week and Vice President Mike Pence expected to join soon.

To winnow the field back down, Mr. DeSantis is likely to need strong showings in Iowa and New Hampshire, the first two nominating states, with anti-Trump voters coalescing around him. His advisers and allies see a victory in socially conservative Iowa as a must, and believe he needs to follow with at least a close second-place finish in more moderate New Hampshire.

Mr. DeSantis has the financial ammunition to compete: He is likely to start with more money in an outside group than any Republican primary candidate in history. He has more than $80 million expected to be transferred from his state account to his super PAC, which says it has also raised $40 million, in addition to having tens of millions more in donor commitments, according to people familiar with the fund-raising.

'An introvert in an extrovert's job' aims for the presidency.

A key focus of the primary, and the general election should Mr. DeSantis make it that far, will be his record as governor. He and a pliant Florida Legislature passed contentious laws that excited the right and angered Democrats, including Black and L.G.B.T.Q. people, students and abortion-rights supporters in Florida. The bills seem to reflect Mr. DeSantis's plan to run to the right of Mr. Trump in the primary, which could leave him vulnerable with moderates and independents.

In the most recent legislative session alone, Florida Republicans banned abortion after six weeks of pregnancy; expanded the use of the death penalty; allowed Floridians to carry concealed guns without a permit; restricted gender-transition care for minors; limited teaching about gender identity and sexual orientation; defunded diversity, equity and inclusion programs at public colleges; and shielded records of his own scrutinized travel from the public.

Mr. DeSantis has also shown a willingness to use executive power in ways little seen before in Tallahassee, the state capital, leading some Democrats and civil rights leaders to worry that he shares Mr. Trump's strongman style but has a greater ability to carry out that vision.

He has picked a long-running fight with Disney, one of Florida's largest employers and a canny political adversary. He removed a local prosecutor from office in what records show was a decision motivated by politics, installed his allies at a public liberal arts university in a bid to transform it into a bastion of conservative thought, said he would reject a high school Advanced Placement course on African American studies for "indoctrinating" students and had state law enforcement officers monitor holiday drag shows for lewd behavior.

While his stump speech focuses on a lengthy recounting of those and other conservative policy achievements, Mr. DeSantis is expected to start talking more about his biography, with help from his wife, Casey DeSantis, a former television journalist who plays an influential role in his office and decision-making.

Raised in Dunedin, a suburb of Tampa, Mr. DeSantis grew up in a working-class home. He excelled at baseball, captaining the squad at Yale University as a hard-hitting outfielder.

He later enrolled at Harvard Law School, then served in the Navy as a military lawyer, deploying to Guantánamo Bay and Iraq. He worked as a federal prosecutor in Florida before winning election to Congress in 2012. He was a founding member of the House Freedom Caucus, a group of anti-establishment conservatives.

After three terms in Washington, he ran for Florida's open governorship, winning the Republican primary largely thanks to an endorsement from Mr. Trump. But they fell out when Mr. DeSantis began making noises about running for president in 2024.

The pandemic turned Mr. DeSantis into a Fox News fixture. He has criticized social distancing measures, masks and vaccines — tools fitfully employed by the Trump administration — and has already hinted that he will contrast his actions in Florida with Mr. Trump's approach. In particular, Mr. DeSantis has gone after Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, who led the nation's pandemic response.

But the step-up from a statewide campaign, even one as successful as Mr. DeSantis's nearly 20-percentage-point romp, to a presidential campaign is not easy. As the initial Twitter Space floundered on Wednesday, Mr. Musk was forced to post a new link, severely reducing the audience for Mr. DeSantis's announcement.

While more than 500,000 people tuned in to the first Twitter Space, the second one had only 163,000 listeners by the time Mr. Musk and the technology entrepreneur David Sacks began interviewing the governor. The conversation quickly turned into a surprisingly dry discussion about the overreach of federal agencies, the merits of Twitter and occasionally bizarre tangents like the license plate number of Representative Thomas Massie, a Kentucky Republican who has endorsed Mr. DeSantis and joined the online conversation.

Mr. DeSantis's campaign tried to put a positive spin on the technical mishaps, writing on Twitter: "It seems we broke the internet with so much excitement." An aide announced they had raised $1 million in an hour. All the while, Mr. Trump's team rejoiced. "This is criminal for a campaign," said Chris LaCivita, a senior adviser to the former president.

Mr. DeSantis had waited months to declare his candidacy, citing a need for Florida's Legislature to first complete its session in early May. The delay allowed Mr. Trump to test out attacks on Mr. DeSantis and secure the endorsement of numerous members of Congress, including several from Florida.

As Mr. DeSantis ramped up his presidential preparations this year with a book tour and a trip abroad, he has seemed to struggle at points.

Awkward moments — including cringeworthy facial expressions — generated negative headlines. So did some poorly calculated policy pronouncements, particularly his declaration that defending Ukraine from the Russian invasion was not a vital U.S. interest. Some major donors who once saw him as the most suitable Trump challenger backed away.

At the heart of the criticism is the perception that Mr. DeSantis, a supreme believer in his own abilities, can seem aloof and quick to anger. Even his allies acknowledge he is not the backslapping, baby-kissing type — concerns he has tried to address by spending more time greeting voters and taking selfies.

"He is an introvert in an extrovert's job," said Alex Andrade, a Republican state representative from the Florida Panhandle who says he admires the governor's reserved and analytical approach.

In recent weeks, Mr. DeSantis has seemed to recover from his wobbles, hitting back with more force against Mr. Trump. He has criticized the former president for not endorsing Florida's six-week abortion ban and has described a "culture of losing" overtaking the Republican Party under Mr. Trump. He also told donors in a private call that Mr. Trump could not beat Mr. Biden.

In the Twitter event, Mr. DeSantis took some sideswipes at the former president, a onetime reality television star, at one point saying, "Government is not entertainment. It's not about building a brand or virtue-signaling."

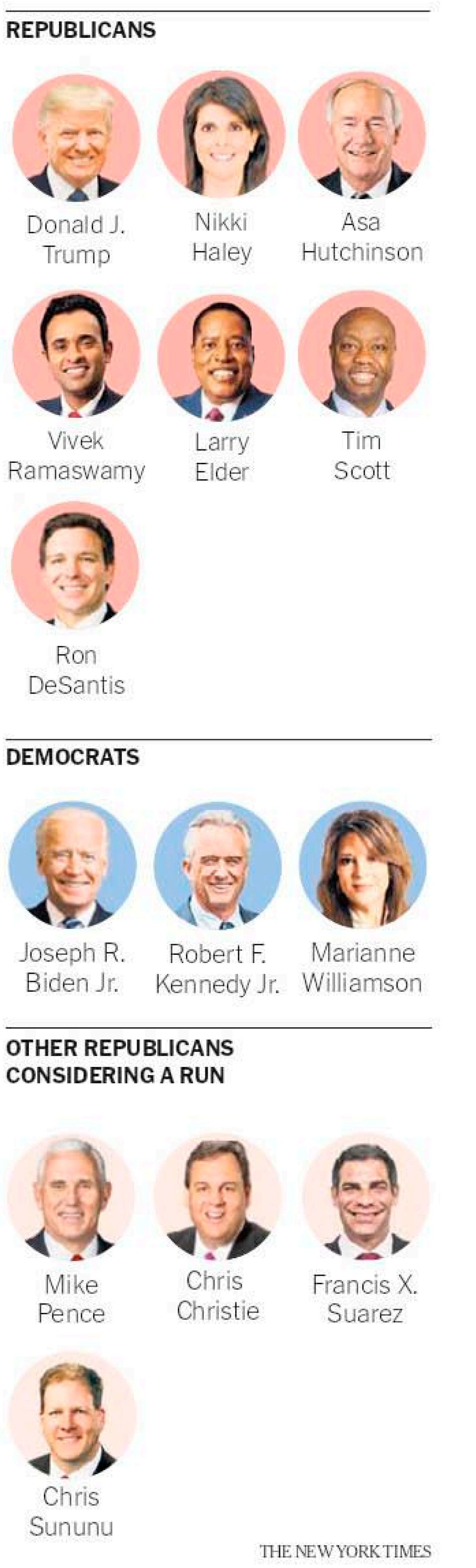
As they wrapped up the hour-long conversation, which meandered from Article 2 of the Constitution to Bitcoin, Mr. DeSantis said, "We should do it again. I mean, I think it was fun."

Mr. Sacks concurred. "It's not how you start," he added, "it's how you finish."

Jonathan Swan and Alyce McFadden contributed reporting.

Who's Running For President in 2024?

After a historically large field ran for president in 2020, the 2024 campaign is starting small.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Sputtering Livestream, An Echo of Twitter's Woes

By RYAN MAC

LOS ANGELES — Hosting Florida's governor, Ron DeSantis, in a Twitter audio event on Wednesday to announce his presidential run was supposed to be a triumphant moment for Elon Musk, the owner of Twitter.

Instead, the event began with more than 20 minutes of technical glitches, hot mic moments and drowned-out and half-said conversations before the livestream abruptly cut out. Minutes later, the livestream restarted as hundreds of thousands of listeners tried to tune in. Mr. DeSantis had not said a word at that point.

"That was insane, sorry," Mr. Musk said.

Behind the stop-start Twitter Space, an audio-only livestream on the social network, was a company that has undergone major changes in recent months. Since Mr. Musk bought Twitter last year for $44 billion, he has reshaped it by cutting more than 75 percent of its work force, changing the platform's speech rules and reinstating suspended users. Outages have been on the rise, as have bugs that have made Twitter less usable.

The technical problems on Wednesday showed how Twitter is operating far from seamlessly, turning what was supposed to be a crowning event for Mr. Musk into something of an embarrassment.

Mr. DeSantis's announcement had been an opportunity for Mr. Musk, an unpredictable executive with interests in many fields, to promote his multiple agendas. Those included a political coming-out for the billionaire, who has flirted with right-wing accounts and politics for years on Twitter but has never embraced a presidential candidate the way he has the Republican governor. And it was supposed to be a way for Mr. Musk to advance his business interests by highlighting Twitter, which he is trying to turn around.

Yet as the Twitter audio livestream faltered, the reaction — including on Twitter itself — was shock and scorn that what should have been a carefully choreographed announcement of a presidential run had stumbled so badly. The hashtag #Desaster appeared on many posts. Others took potshots at the failure, with President Biden's personal @JoeBiden account tweeting a donation link with the words, "This link works."

David Sacks, a tech executive who moderated the audio event with Mr. DeSantis and who is a confidant of Mr. Musk's, tried downplaying the technical problems.

"We got so many people here that we are kind of melting the servers, which is a good sign," he said during the first livestream, which sputtered out.

Mr. Musk did not respond to a request for comment.

Inside Twitter, employees had been alarmed by Mr. Musk's turn into politics and whether the social media site could handle the influx of traffic, three employees said. There was no planning for what are known as "site reliability issues" for the event with Mr. DeSantis, two of the people said, and workers were prepared to do whatever they could to keep the social network running.

POOL PHOTO BY LUDOVIC MARIN

"That was insane, sorry," Elon Musk said after problems marred the livestream of Ron DeSantis's announcement.

An opportunity for Musk to promote multiple agendas.

When the audio event began at about 6 p.m. Eastern time, more than 600,000 listeners joined, causing Twitter's mobile apps and website to sputter or crash, two employees said. Mr. Musk later said that his account, which has 140 million followers and which promoted and launched the livestream, had brought in too many listeners and that Twitter's systems had been unable to handle them.

Twitter's systems recovered, the employees said, but the restarted livestream with Mr. DeSantis had a smaller audience, with about 275,000 listeners.

Even before the glitches, the event had drawn criticism, especially since Mr. Musk has said Twitter is a politically neutral platform. Michael Santoro, a professor of management and entrepreneurship at Santa Clara University, said the event "undermines" the claim of impartiality.

"As the owner of the company, he's using major resources and power and outreach of the company to express any view," Mr. Santoro said of Mr. Musk.

But others said they were not surprised that Mr. Musk was trying to mold the social platform in his own image and beliefs.

A self-proclaimed moderate, Mr. Musk voted for Democratic presidential candidates like Barack Obama and Mr. Biden. But in recent years he has taken a rightward turn, which has been laid out in full on his Twitter profile. He has posted critically about what he calls the "woke mind virus" affecting Democratic politics, has shared right-wing conspiracy theories and has repeatedly praised Mr. DeSantis for nearly a year.

Jason Goldman, a former vice president of product at Twitter, compared Mr. Musk's moves with Twitter to the creation of an echo chamber where has put his own interests front and center.

"He is the moderator, and the content surfaced and promoted is that which is most pleasing to him," Mr. Goldman said.

In recent months, fears about Twitter's reliability have surfaced repeatedly. After Mr. Musk began laying off thousands of its employees last year, many users were so alarmed by the cuts that #RIPTwitter and #GoodbyeTwitter began trending. The company staved off any shutdowns and continued operating, but outages rose.

In February alone, Twitter experienced at least four widespread outages, compared with nine in all of 2022, according to NetBlocks, an organization that tracks internet outages.

The company's technology operations have become more precarious since November, current and former employees have said. Mr. Musk also ended operations at one of Twitter's three main data centers, slashed the teams that work on the company's back-end technology such as servers and cloud storage, and eliminated leaders overseeing that area.

On Wednesday after the Twitter Space restarted, Mr. DeSantis finally got the chance to speak. He made his stump speech, then complimented Mr. Musk for buying Twitter. He also praised Mr. Musk, who often declares his support for free speech, for that commitment and said the Twitter owner would surely make money off his investment in the company.

Mr. Musk is "a good businessman," Mr. DeSantis said. And Twitter Spaces, he later added, "is a great platform."

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Amassing Power, DeSantis Maximized Might of Governor's Office

After Expanding His Authority in Florida, He Promises a More Conservative Country

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

MIAMI — Few knew what to expect from Ron DeSantis when he was first elected Florida governor in 2018 as a little-known congressman. He had barely eked out a victory. He had almost no ties to the State Capitol. His policy agenda seemed unclear.

But he knew, at least, how he wanted to govern: He directed his general counsel to figure out just how far a governor could push his authority. He pored over a binder enumerating his varied powers: appointing Florida Supreme Court justices, removing local elected officials and wielding line-item vetoes against state lawmakers.

Then he systematically deployed each one.

Four years later, Mr. DeSantis is entering the 2024 Republican presidential primary race with a promise to make the country more conservative — just as he did Florida, using nearly every means necessary to muscle through his right-wing vision.

"We proved it can be done. We chose facts over fear, education over indoctrination, law and order over rioting and disorder," Mr. DeSantis said on Wednesday, as he announced his candidacy in a repeatedly delayed and awkwardly glitchy livestream on Twitter, with its owner, Elon Musk. "We also understand governing is not entertainment. It's not about building a brand or virtue-signaling. It is about delivering results."

Mr. DeSantis's willingness to exert that power in extraordinary ways has led him to barrel through norms, challenge the legal limits of his office and threaten political retribution against those who cross him. Unlike former President Donald J. Trump, the 2024 Republican front-runner who considers the governor his top rival, Mr. DeSantis is a keen student of American government who has expanded his influence tactically and methodically, using detailed knowledge of the pliable confines of his office to his advantage.

"What I was able to bring to the governor's office was an understanding of how a constitutional form of government operates, the various pressure points that exist, and the best way to leverage authority to achieve substantive policy victories," Mr. DeSantis, a Harvard-educated lawyer, wrote in his recent book, "The Courage to Be Free," which described his systematic approach to using executive power.

Jeff Brandes, a former state senator and a rare Republican who has raised concerns about Mr. DeSantis's use of power, called Mr. DeSantis "the most powerful governor Florida has ever seen. Democrats have been scathing in their assessment, describing the governor with words usually reserved for foreign demagogues.

"Americans want to live in a democracy with freedoms," Nikki Fried, the chairwoman of the Florida Democratic Party, wrote this week on Twitter, "and not under an authoritarian regime."

Jeremy T. Redfern, the press secretary for the governor's office, rejected the assertion that governor has pushed the boundaries of his authority, calling it "nonsense" and a "leftist talking point."

Alexandra Berzon and Nicholas Nehamas contributed reporting.

Removing Officials

Mr. DeSantis was elected by a mere 32,463 votes in 2018 — a margin so narrow that it required a recount and could have prompted him to not "rock the boat," the governor wrote in his book. Instead, three days after being sworn into office in January 2019, he suspended the elected Democratic sheriff of Broward County over his handling of the Parkland high school shooting a year earlier.

That moment put the state on notice that Mr. DeSantis did not intend to govern like his predecessors, who typically suspended elected officials only if they had been charged with crimes.

"I earned 50 percent of the vote," Mr. DeSantis told Republicans at a dinner this month, "but that entitled me to wield 100 percent of the executive power."

Mr. DeSantis has continued targeting local, elected officials. In 2019, he removed from office the Democratic elections supervisor of Palm Beach County for her handling of the 2018 recount. Mr. DeSantis called the suspensions necessary for accountability.

Last August, Mr. DeSantis suspended four members of the Broward County school board — citing a special grand jury investigation on school security failures that he had requested from the Republican-majority state Supreme Court. All four of those ousted were Democrats who had been elected since the shooting; Mr. DeSantis replaced them with Republicans.

That same month he suspended Andrew H. Warren, the top prosecutor in Tampa, after Mr. Warren, a Democrat, vowed not to criminalize abortion. The governor did not cite any specific case that Mr. Warren had failed to prosecute, and records showed that the removal had been fueled by politics.

A federal judge ruled that while Mr. DeSantis went too far in suspending Mr. Warren, the court had no authority to reinstate him. Mr. Warren has appealed.

Amassing Power

While Mr. DeSantis showed an early interest in consolidating power in his office, the Covid pandemic allowed him to centralize and expand his authority. During the declared emergency in 2020, the governor had the authority — and used it — to spend $5 billion in federal aid without legislative approval.

He went beyond that, prohibiting local mask and vaccine mandates, calling the Legislature into special session to write those bans into law, and threatening to withhold pay for administrators of public school districts that tried to defy him.

His hard line helped him build a larger national profile and appeared to propel Mr. DeSantis to govern more assertively, especially when it came to heated cultural issues popular with his political base. He reached deep into his administration to compel obscure agencies and boards to enact his policies.

SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Technicians organizing ballots in Orlando, Fla., in 2018. Ron DeSantis was elected by 32,463 votes.

TODD ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Students protested after Mr. DeSantis installed a conservative board at the New College of Florida.

The governor filled state boards for hospitals and colleges with like-minded appointees, eventually orchestrating a takeover of New College of Florida, a public liberal arts school in Sarasota that he and his allies hope to turn into a conservative bastion. Two state medical boards whose members were appointed by the governor prohibited gender-transition care for minors and education regulators expanded a prohibition on classroom instruction on sexual orientation and gender identity.

More recently, he has used the Department of Business and Professional Regulation to try to take away the liquor licenses from a Miami restaurant, a Miami hotel and an Orlando theater because children have attended drag shows at the venues.

"What is scary in Florida is that we're seeing the governor's continued efforts to consolidate power under himself so that there are not any checks and balances for what he does," said Kara Gross, the legislative director and senior policy counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida.

Political Payback

Mr. DeSantis has also relied on raw political power and threats of retribution — often aimed at allies.

He has intervened in legislative races, where his endorsements have helped him stack the Legislature with loyal Republicans and sent a clear message to lawmakers to get in line or possibly face a primary challenge. Last fall, he turned to school board races, working with Moms for Liberty, a right-wing group, to publish a list of endorsements for seats that are technically nonpartisan.

During redistricting last year, when senators drew a congressional map not to Mr. DeSantis's liking, he vetoed it and forced the lawmakers to adopt a map that he had put forward — the first time anyone in the State Capitol could remember a governor taking such a brash step.

The Senate initially resisted Mr. DeSantis's map, which eliminated a majority Black district in North Florida and effectively gave Republicans four more seats in Congress. But lawmakers knew that Mr. DeSantis could use endorsements and primaries as a cudgel. In fact, he did not back the Senate president's campaign for state agriculture commissioner until after the chamber gave the governor his map. (The map still faces a court challenge.)

Yet the episode that most crystallized the Legislature's deference to Mr. DeSantis involved a foe that Florida Republicans would have previously been loath to take on: the Walt Disney Company, one of Florida's largest taxpayers.

When Disney's chief executive at the time opposed legislation last year restricting classroom instruction on sexual orientation and gender identity, Mr. DeSantis did not hesitate to push back. He called on lawmakers to strip Disney's special tax district from many of its powers, pitting traditionally business-friendly lawmakers against Florida's most famous corporate giant.

The standoff has spilled over into this year, with Disney making moves to limit the state's new oversight board and the state countering to undo Disney's plans. Disney recently sued Florida in federal court and canceled a $1 billion development near Orlando.

It's far from clear Mr. DeSantis will win his battle with Disney. Still, he sees political upside in boasting that he did not bow to corporate pressure.

After the sugar industry backed his opponent in the 2018 Republican primary, Mr. DeSantis, in his first week in office, signed an executive order on water quality that took aim at some of the industry's polluting practices.

"While Big Sugar did not like it," Mr. DeSantis wrote in his book, "most people across the political spectrum in Florida were thrilled."

Legal 'Cleanup'

Legislators have been so quick to do Mr. DeSantis's bidding that they have had to repeatedly return to the State Capitol to retroactively give the governor authority for actions already taken.

"We had a recent seventh special session — which is supposed to be an extraordinary measure — basically to clean up all of the outstanding issues," State Senator Jason W.B. Pizzo, a Democrat, said earlier this year. "A colleague referred to it as 'cleanup on aisle five' for the governor."

During that session, held in February, lawmakers passed legislation detailing their authority over Disney's special tax district. But they also amended laws passed last year that had mired the DeSantis administration in court.

Mr. DeSantis created an office of election crimes in 2022 that brought fraud charges against people who may have inappropriately cast ballots. But judges threw out case after case, saying that statewide prosecutors lacked the authority to bring those charges. Lawmakers changed the law this year to explicitly empower the prosecutors.

Legislators also did away with language that had complicated the governor's legal justification for flying Venezuelan migrants from San Antonio to Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts last summer. The original language adopted in 2022 gave the DeSantis administration the authority to transport migrants "from this state" — not from Texas, Mr. Pizzo argued in a lawsuit after the Martha's Vineyard stunt. In the special February session, lawmakers scrapped that phrase and expanded Mr. DeSantis's authority to transport migrants from anywhere in the country.

"He completely controls the Legislature," Mr. Pizzo said.

Last week, Mr. DeSantis used his influence to line up endorsements for his presidential campaign. His political team announced the backing of 99 of the state's 113 Republican legislators, even as some said privately that they felt pressured to support Mr. DeSantis for fear that he might otherwise veto their bills or spending projects.

Were Mr. DeSantis to win the White House, he would likely face tougher opposition in Washington than he has in Tallahassee. There have already been signs of division: Last month, 11 of 20 Republican representatives in Florida's congressional delegation endorsed Mr. Trump over Mr. DeSantis.

Florida's First Lady in Vital Role, Helping Her Husband Connect

By KATIE GLUECK

During a recent appearance in South Carolina, after Ron DeSantis played up his state's economic and education policies and bashed a litany of ideological adversaries, his wife settled into an armchair next to him onstage, reflecting on her role as the first lady of Florida.

"I didn't want to be that proverbial potted plant," Casey DeSantis said.

No one — fan, skeptic or critic — would accuse her of that.

Ms. DeSantis, 42, is widely seen as perhaps Mr. DeSantis's most important adviser. In the governor's mansion, she advised on media strategy and helped vet personnel. She has narrated some of his more attention-grabbing ads and taken on wide-ranging projects about issues like mental health, disaster relief and cancer, surviving a bout with it herself.

Now, as Mr. DeSantis enters the presidential contest, people who know Ms. DeSantis or who have encountered her on the nascent campaign trail expect that she will play a vital role in his most important race yet, seeking to shape perceptions of the campaign, build relationships with party stakeholders and to illuminate the personal side of her hard-edged husband, who sometimes struggles to connect.

"You have the first ladies that are kind of more in a supportive posture, they are not ones that are out there stumping," said Steven Wright, the Republican chairman in Dorchester County, S.C., who encountered Ms. DeSantis during the couple's swing through the area. "And then you have the first ladies that are similar to Casey DeSantis."

In recent weeks, she has gushed over Iowa's gas station pizza and highlighted her personal connections to South Carolina, the first-in-the-South primary state (she attended the College of Charleston, where she competed on the equestrian team).

She has met with local Republican officials and offered public glimpses of family life as the mother of three children. When Mr. DeSantis spoke at a Republican dinner in Ohio last month, Ms. DeSantis joined the trip too, swinging through her hometown, Troy, Ohio, where the family met with the mayor.

"She shows the human side of the governor and his personal side," Mr. Wright said.

And she and Mr. DeSantis recently hosted Bob Vander Plaats, an influential social conservative from Iowa, for lunch at the governor's mansion.

"They could free her up to go on her own to represent the governor at different campaign stops where he can't be," said Mr. Vander Plaats, citing her "ability to be very poised in front of a crowd." He recalled that they dined on arugula spring salad, prosciutto-wrapped scallops with green beans and a strawberry fruit salad dessert.

Mr. DeSantis met Jill Casey Black, a local news reporter at the time, at a driving range complex in Florida, he wrote in his recent book, "The Courage to Be Free." They were married at Walt Disney World, years before Mr. DeSantis went to war with Disney. ("Casey's family was what one might call a family of Disney enthusiasts," he wrote.)

Casey DeSantis built a career as a television personality in Florida, though that background has not stopped her from echoing Mr. DeSantis in lashing the "woke corporate media."

"She's keenly aware of public-facing events, the news cycle, optics," said Stephen Lawson, who served as Mr. DeSantis's spokesman during his 2018 race for governor. "So much of who he is and where he's come from and his story centers around her, and I think she'll continue to play a pivotal role in how that story unfolds."

"She is his primary sounding board," he added.

In that 2018 contest, she narrated an ad that highlighted Mr. DeSantis's fealty to President Donald J. Trump by showing him encouraging his young child to "build the wall" out of blocks.

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Casey DeSantis, wife of the Florida governor, at an event for Iowa Republicans this month in Cedar Rapids.

Last year, she recorded an emotional direct-to-camera spot, her voice wavering as she described how her husband had helped her through cancer.

She also promoted a video that cast his political rise as divinely inspired.

Ms. DeSantis has also been linked to political drama, and some have questioned the scope of her portfolio in office, wondering whether she has too much influence inside the governor's insular inner circle.

"She assumes authority that she does not have," said Mac Stipanovich, a Republican-turned-independent who served as a longtime Florida strategist and lobbyist, though he said he was sharing his impressions rather than firsthand knowledge. "From whence came this woman's strategic political genius?"

"People would always question, who is the closest person to Ron, who is somebody who can get his ear?" added Nikki Fried, now the chairwoman of the Florida Democratic Party and a former agriculture commissioner who ran unsuccessfully for governor in the Democratic primary last year. The only name that ever came back, she said, "was Casey's."

Lindsey Curnutte, a spokeswoman for the DeSantis team, did not respond to a request for comment.

But Representative Jared Moskowitz, a Florida Democrat who worked with the DeSantises as Florida's director of emergency management, said he had found Ms. DeSantis to be someone who was receptive to ideas and whose "door was always open."

"The first lady, who has a significant background in communications, comes into a room and really just captivates," said Mr. Moskowitz, who is supporting President Biden's re-election bid.

There is a long history of politicians navigating the complexities of family members' involvement in their campaigns or administrations, including Bill and Hillary Clinton and Vice President Kamala Harris, whose sister was a key adviser during her presidential primary campaign.

In New York City, Chirlane McCray was the closest adviser to her husband, Bill de Blasio, as he ran for mayor and then during his time at City Hall, an arrangement that at times stoked controversy.

In an interview, Mr. de Blasio — a Democrat who is "energetically" supporting Mr. Biden — defended the art of the political power couple, saying that "when it feels natural, it's kind of irreplaceable."

"You need someone who understands your goals, your motivations, what you can handle, what you can't, all that, and that's all subsumed in a spouse under good conditions," Mr. de Blasio said.

But he acknowledged that, depending on the couple, spouse-advisers could also be "too close to the situation."

"There's a huge tradition of spouses being very protective and defensive for their loved one in office," he said. "Sometimes that can create a blindness or a kind of knee-jerk reaction, or a sense of vengeance that is not always productive."

"It can be a beautiful model, it can be a powerful model," he added, "or it can really backfire."

Nicholas Nehamas contributed reporting. Kirsten Noyes contributed research.

Intraparty Showdown Escalates Among Texas Republican Leaders

By J. DAVID GOODMAN and DAVID MONTGOMERY

AUSTIN, Texas — The Texas Capitol was unexpectedly gripped by an escalating intraparty showdown among top Republicans on Wednesday after a House committee took steps toward a possible impeachment of the Republican attorney general, Ken Paxton, over charges of corruption and abuse of office.

The allegations had been lodged before against Mr. Paxton, but they gained new force as investigators working for the Republican-controlled House panel — the Committee on General Investigating — publicly detailed each accusation over three hours of public testimony, concluding that Mr. Paxton had most likely committed crimes.

Whether the committee would recommend impeachment, or stop short of doing so, remained an open question. But the Republican House speaker, Dade Phelan — whose own resignation Mr. Paxton publicly called for this week — signaled his openness to that outcome.

"The attorney general appears to have routinely abused his powers for personal gain and exhibited blatant disregard for the ethical and legal propriety," a spokeswoman for Mr. Phelan said in a statement. "Speaker Phelan stands in full support of the general investigating committee and the recommendations that may come as a result of their thorough and diligent investigation."

By Wednesday afternoon, lawmakers and lobbyists around Austin were already discussing the possibility of an impeachment vote, and a subsequent trial in the Senate, and how that could alter the balance of power in the Republican-dominated Capitol.

For months, barely concealed acrimony had been brewing among top Texas Republicans from different ideological camps, with Mr. Paxton aligned strongly with supporters of former President Donald J. Trump and Mr. Phelan seen as a more traditional Texas Republican.

The most recent tensions initially burst into public view on Tuesday afternoon when Mr. Paxton, who is already under indictment for securities fraud, accused Mr. Phelan of performing his duties while drunk and called for the speaker's resignation.

Trading accusations of corruption and drunkenness.

The move sent a shock through Austin. Shortly after, word came that Mr. Paxton might have had a personal motive for attacking the speaker: The House investigating committee had subpoenaed records from Mr. Paxton's office, as part of an inquiry into the attorney general's request for $3.3 million in state money to settle corruption allegations brought against him by his own former high-ranking aides.

The sordid accusations recalled an earlier era of outlandish behavior and political posturing in the State Capitol. But the tangled web of resentments and finger-pointing also highlighted a much simpler and more consequential political reality in Texas: Though they have control over the Legislature and of every statewide office, Republicans have not always agreed on what to do with their power.

The investigators, who include former prosecutors, outlined the evidence they had collected against Mr. Paxton, finding that he had abused and misused his office to help a real estate developer and donor, and retaliated against those in his office who spoke up against him. The investigators said that of the roughly 80 employees in the attorney general's office contacted for the inquiry, only one did not fear retaliation for participating.

As the investigators met, the attorney general suggested on Twitter that he believed the Texas House was preparing a case to impeach him.

"It is not surprising that a committee appointed by liberal Speaker Dade Phelan would seek to disenfranchise Texas voters and sabotage my work as attorney general," Mr. Paxton said in a statement on Wednesday aimed at his base of supporters, many of whom view Mr. Phelan as aligned with Democrats.

Mr. Paxton did not refer explicitly to impeachment, but his comment about disenfranchising voters appeared to be a reference to a possible outcome of the committee's investigation.

The timing of Mr. Paxton's accusation against Mr. Phelan on Tuesday coincided with word of the committee's subpoenas and the public hearing the next day. Mr. Paxton based his assessment — and his call for Mr. Phelan to resign — on video circulating online from a late-night session of the House on Friday. At about the 5 hour 29 minute mark in an official House video, Mr. Phelan appears to slur his words as he is speaking.

NICK WAGNER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Ken Paxton, left, who is under indictment, called for the resignation of Dade Phelan, the speaker of the Texas House.

Some people who were inside the House chamber on Friday said they did not notice any issues with Mr. Phelan's behavior, even though his speech did sound slurred in one section of video, which came toward the end of more than 12 hours of hearings and votes overseen by the speaker that day.

Mr. Phelan's office brushed aside Mr. Paxton's accusation as "a last-ditch effort to save face." Even so, it underscored the degree to which his leadership of the Texas House has enraged far-right lawmakers and conservative activists aligned with Mr. Paxton. They have complained that Mr. Phelan has blocked or watered down their priorities — on law enforcement at the border, public money for private-school vouchers or displaying the Ten Commandments in public schools.

The House has often acted as a relatively moderate Republican bulwark against the most conservative instincts of the party's right wing, to the consternation of some in Austin and the relief of others. But the committee's investigation into Mr. Paxton added an unusual element to the usual infighting.

Though many of the allegations presented to the committee on Wednesday were not new, the hearing was the first extensive examination by the Legislature. And it provided new details and context on Mr. Paxton's efforts to help an Austin developer, Nate Paul, who gave Mr. Paxton a $25,000 contribution in 2018.

The investigators said that Mr. Paxton also had an affair with a woman who worked in Mr. Paul's office, and that Mr. Paxton punished or isolated employees who confronted him about his actions.

The situation surprised even longtime observers of Texas politics.

"I would say this is as detrimental and important a scandal as we've seen in Texas political history," said Brandon Rottinghaus, a professor of political science at the University of Houston who is working on a book on Texas political scandals. "Not just because of what happened, but because of how long it's been going on and how Paxton has been able to survive it."

The controversy over whether Mr. Phelan was drunk was "fairly mild" in comparison with the allegations against Mr. Paxton, he added. "We've had some pretty serious malfeasance in Texas history," he said.

Much of the information and accusations against Mr. Paxton had been known for years in Texas. In 2020, several of his top aides took their concerns to the F.B.I. and the Texas Rangers.

Four of the aides — Ryan Vassar, Mark Penley, James Blake Brickman and David Maxwell — have also sued Mr. Paxton; the case is pending. Earlier this year, Mr. Paxton said he had reached a settlement with them and asked the state to pay the $3.3 million.

But Mr. Phelan balked. "I don't think it's proper use of taxpayer dollars," he said in a television interview in February.

It was the request for settlement funds, to avoid a public trial, that triggered the investigation by the House committee, Mr. Phelan's spokeswoman said on Wednesday. As a result, details of Mr. Paxton's activities were laid out more publicly than before.

One of the investigators, Terese Buess, told committee members on Wednesday that Mr. Paxton may have violated several state and federal laws, including abuse of official capacity, violation of whistle-blower statutes and dereliction of duty.

ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bill to Put Ten Commandments in Texas Schools Fails

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

HOUSTON — A push to inject religion into public schools across Texas faltered on Tuesday after the State House failed to pass a contentious bill that would have required the Ten Commandments to be displayed prominently in every classroom.

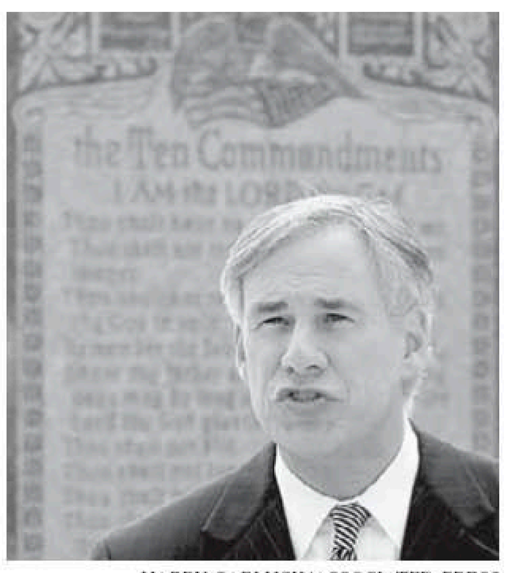
The measure was part of an effort by conservative Republicans in the Legislature to expand the reach of religion into the daily life of public schools. In recent weeks, both chambers passed versions of a bill to allow school districts to hire religious chaplains in place of licensed counselors.

But the Ten Commandments legislation, which passed the State Senate last month, remained pending before the Texas House until Tuesday, the final day to approve bills before the session ends next Monday. Time expired before the legislation could receive a vote.

The bills appeared aimed at testing the openness of the conservative majority on the Supreme Court to re-examining the legal boundaries of religion in public education. The court sided last year with a Washington State football coach, Joseph Kennedy, over his prayers with players at the 50-yard line, saying he had a constitutional right to do so.

"The law has undergone a massive shift," said Matt Krause, a former Texas state representative and a lawyer at First Liberty Institute, a conservative legal nonprofit focused on religious liberty, during a State Senate hearing last month. "It's not too much to say that the Kennedy case, for religious liberty, was much like the Dobbs case was for the pro-life movement."

In recent months, religious groups in several states have appeared interested in seeing how far states might now go in directly supporting religious expression in public schools. This month, the South Carolina legislature introduced its own bill to require the display of the Ten Commandments in all classrooms. In Oklahoma, the state education board was asked earlier this year to approve the creation of an explicitly religious charter school; the board ultimately rejected the application.



HARRY CABLUCK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Above, Dade Phelan, speaker of the Texas House, overseeing debate on Tuesday. Left, Gov. Greg Abbott in 2005, when he was state attorney general.

"Forcing public schools to display the Ten Commandments is part of the Christian Nationalist crusade to compel all of us to live by their beliefs," said Rachel Laser, the president and chief executive of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, a nonprofit advocacy group. She pointed to new laws in Idaho and Kentucky permitting public school employees to pray in front of students, and a bill in Missouri allowing elective classes on the Bible. "It's not just in Texas," she said.

The Texas bill on displaying the Ten Commandments resembled another bill, passed in 2021 during the last legislative session, that required public schools to accept and display donated posters bearing the motto "In God We Trust." Patriot Mobile, a conservative Christian cellphone company outside of Fort Worth, was among the first to make such donations after the bill's passage.

But the legislation on the Ten Commandments went further. It required schools to display posters of the words and to do so "in a conspicuous place in each classroom" and "in a size and typeface that is legible to a person with average vision from anywhere in the classroom."

Schools that do not furnish their own posters will have to accept donations of posters, according to the bill. The legislation also specified how the commandments were to be rendered, with the text including prescribed capitalization: "I AM the LORD thy God."

The words, taken from a Protestant version of the commandments from the King James Version of the Bible, are the same as those that appear on a monument on the grounds of the Texas Capitol. Gov. Greg Abbott, when he was state attorney general, successfully defended the monument's placement more than a decade ago before the Supreme Court.

Measures appeared aimed at testing the Supreme Court.

The legislation allowing school districts to hire chaplains or to accept them as volunteers was presented as a solution to a problem in Texas and other states: a shortage of school counselors. Opponents of the measure said that chaplains did not fill the need because they did not have the same expertise, training or licensing as counselors.

"The way the bill is crafted, a school board could opt to have no counselors, no family specialists, no school psychologists and replace them entirely with chaplains," said Diego Bernal, a Democratic representative from San Antonio, during a hearing this month.

"I guess if the schools thought that that was a necessary thing, they could make that decision," replied the bill's sponsor in the State House, Cole Hefner, a Republican representative from East Texas.

The measure, known as Senate Bill 763, passed in the Texas Senate and then in the House; now the chambers must agree on a final version before sending it to Mr. Abbott.

The Ten Commandments bill, known as Senate Bill 1515, similarly passed smoothly through the State Senate, where Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick, a hard-right Republican, holds enormous power. He praised the bill as "one step we can take to make sure that all Texans have the right to freely express their sincerely held religious beliefs."

But after going to the Texas House, the legislation faced a problem common in the Republican-dominated Legislature, which meets once every two years and whose members this session introduced more than 8,000 pieces of proposed legislation: deadlines in the legislative calendar.

Tuesday was the final day for the House to pass bills. As Republicans rushed to do so, Democrats, who wield little direct power, delayed the proceedings by speaking at length and repeatedly at every opportunity for much of the day, a process known in the Texas Capitol as "chubbing."

By doing so, they prevented the Ten Commandments bill — and many other contentious measures placed late in the day's calendar — from coming up for a vote.

"This bill was an unconstitutional attack on our core liberties, and we are happy it failed," David Donatti, a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union of Texas, said in a statement. "The First Amendment guarantees families and faith communities — not politicians or the government — the right to instill religious beliefs in their children."

Trump Lawyers Ask to Meet Garland Over Investigations

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

Lawyers for former President Donald J. Trump have sent a letter requesting a meeting with Attorney General Merrick B. Garland related to the special counsel investigations into Mr. Trump's conduct.

The letter, sent on Tuesday, cited no specifics but asserted that Mr. Trump was being treated unfairly by the Justice Department through the investigations led by the special counsel, Jack Smith. Mr. Smith is scrutinizing Mr. Trump's handling of classified material that was discovered at his private Florida club, Mar-a-Lago, after his presidency, as well as his efforts to retain power after he lost the 2020 election.

There are indications that Mr. Smith is approaching the stage of the investigation where he could start making decisions about whether to seek indictments of Mr. Trump and others in the documents case. The status of his other line of inquiry, into Mr. Trump's efforts to reverse his election loss and how they contributed to the Jan. 6, 2021, assault on the Capitol by his supporters, is less clear.

"Unlike President Biden, his son Hunter and the Biden family, President Trump is being treated unfairly," the lawyers for Mr. Trump, James Trusty and John Rowley, wrote to Mr. Garland.

"No president of the United States has ever, in the history of our country, been baselessly investigated in such outrageous and unlawful fashion," they wrote.

They requested a meeting to discuss the "ongoing injustice" by Mr. Smith's team.

The letter was reported earlier by ABC News.

A spokesman for Mr. Smith declined to comment.

The letter's tone is markedly different from the approach taken by Mr. Trump shortly after the F.B.I. executed a search warrant at Mar-a-Lago in August 2022, recovering documents that Mr. Trump had failed to turn over after receiving a subpoena demanding that they be returned to the government. At the time, Mr. Trump, through an intermediary, sent a message to Justice Department officials that the search inflamed the country, and he asked how he could help to lower the temperature.

The letter from his lawyers on Tuesday was directly confrontational. It implied that the family of Mr. Biden, who appointed Mr. Garland and who is himself the focus of a different special counsel investigation into a far smaller number of classified documents from his vice-presidential and Senate days found in spaces where he worked and in his home, is benefiting from more favorable treatment.

Hunter Biden is under separate investigation on possible tax charges and for possibly having lied about his drug use on a federal form he filled out to purchase a handgun.

Mr. Trump is the front-runner for the Republican nomination in an increasingly crowded Republican field. But with the letter, Mr. Trump is relying on a frequently used playbook, in which he suggests a judge or prosecutor is treating him unfairly by the act of investigating him.

Most recently, he tried suggesting the judge overseeing an indictment against him in a state court in Manhattan has a conflict because a family member works for Democrats.

Under Justice Department regulations, Mr. Garland would play only a limited role in whether Mr. Smith decides to bring charges against Mr. Trump.

An attorney general can overrule a special counsel in a specific circumstance: if Mr. Garland were to determine that the prosecutor's action would be "so inappropriate or unwarranted under established departmental practices that it should not be pursued." Mr. Garland must also disclose that to Congress and explain any such intervention when the special counsel's inquiry ends.

In other words, Mr. Smith would not simply be making a recommendation that Mr. Garland has broad discretion to reject. Unless seeking an indictment would violate a specific Justice Department rule, guideline or norm, any decision about whether to proceed is Mr. Smith's to make.

Rules limit Attorney General Merrick B. Garland's role in special counsel decisions.

In the documents-related case, prosecutors have examined evidence related to obstruction of justice, as well as to whether Mr. Trump mishandled classified material.

Mr. Smith's team is still hearing from witnesses in the two cases, according to multiple people familiar with the activity, although all signs point to the documents investigation nearing its end point.

Some of Mr. Trump's advisers have privately predicted that the former president will face charges in the case related to the documents at a minimum, although they maintain he did nothing wrong. They have also grown angry at the number of people who have been subpoenaed, from low-level workers at Mar-a-Lago to former government officials.

Mr. Trump is under indictment in New York on charges related to a hush-money payment to a porn star and is facing a separate investigation in Georgia into his efforts to reverse his defeat at the polls there in 2020.

It is highly unlikely that Mr. Garland would agree to meet with Mr. Trump's lawyers, one of the attorney general's former aides said.

"Merrick Garland will not meet with Trusty or any of the other Trump lawyers," said Anthony Coley, Mr. Garland's former spokesman. "Jack Smith is running this investigation, not Merrick Garland."

Glenn Thrush and Charlie Savage contributed reporting.

Jan. 6 Rioter Seen at Desk Of Speaker Is Sentenced

By ALAN FEUER and ZACH MONTAGUE

An Arkansas man who became notorious for putting his foot on a desk in Speaker Nancy Pelosi's office during the attack on the Capitol by supporters of President Donald J. Trump was sentenced on Wednesday to four and a half years in prison.

The man, Richard "Bigo" Barnett, was found guilty at a trial in January of eight criminal offenses, including interfering with law enforcement during a civil disorder and obstructing the certification of the 2020 election that took place at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

After deliberating for less than three hours, a jury in Federal District Court in Washington rejected Mr. Barnett's testimony that he had ended up in Ms. Pelosi's office suite while looking for a bathroom and that the 950,000-volt stun gun he was carrying that day was not working.

Prosecutors argued during the trial that Mr. Barnett, 63, arrived at the Capitol "prepared for violence" and intending to stop Mr. Trump from leaving office after losing the 2020 election.

In court papers filed before the sentencing hearing, prosecutors accused Mr. Barnett of seeking to profit from his case by selling autographed photos of himself leaning back with his foot on a desk in Ms. Pelosi's office and by considering seeking copyright protections for an obscene note he left Ms. Pelosi that day, reading in part, "Hey Nancy, Bigo was here."

On Wednesday, prosecutors sought to emphasize the lasting scars inflicted by the rioters. They cited Emily Berret, a staff member for Ms. Pelosi who recalled that of eight colleagues who were trapped inside the speaker's office when the mob first overwhelmed

Richard Barnett was sentenced to more than four years in prison on Wednesday.

He was found guilty in January of eight criminal offenses.

the Capitol, six exited public service shortly thereafter.

Prosecutors also accused Mr. Barnett of lying several times in testimony during his trial, adding that he showed "brazen disrespect for every form of authority he encountered."

"Barnett recognizes no authority but himself and is willing to do 'whatever it takes' to get what he wants," the prosecutors wrote, "even if it requires harming others, stealing or breaking the law."

Just before issuing the sentence, Judge Christopher Cooper said he was dismayed by the way Mr. Barnett had sought to cash in on his notoriety.

"You're 63 years old; you're too old for this nonsense," he said. "But for better or worse you have become one of the faces of Jan. 6, and I think you enjoy it."

Mr. Barnett was among the first defendants arrested in connection with the Jan. 6 assault and quickly became one of the best-known rioters, along with figures like Jacob Chansley, the so-called QAnon Shaman, who stormed the building in a horned helmet and was later sentenced to 41 months in prison.

Mr. Barnett has also frequently and vocally criticized the Justice Department for overreaching in its efforts to investigate the Capitol attack. He has also accused the police officers who defended lawmakers that day of instigating the assault on the building by using what he has described as excessive force.

His lawyers, Jonathan Gross and Bradford Geyer, had asked Judge Cooper to sentence Mr. Barnett to only one year in prison and to give him credit for the nearly four months he spent behind bars before his trial. The lawyers said in court papers that Mr. Barnett still believed the police used a "disproportionate response" during the attack.

"Mr. Barnett is outspoken about his political views and has attended dozens of rallies in his life, but was always peaceful, never violent," the lawyers wrote.

More than 480 people have been sentenced so far in connection with the Capitol attack, and about 275 are serving at least some time in prison, Justice Department officials say. The terms have ranged from a high of 14 years to only days behind bars.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Kevin McCarthy on Wednesday. A debt crisis could be only a week away, but that's an eternity in a town governed by the threat of catastrophic deadlines.

Marathon Session of Debt Talks Ends With No Deal Near

By CARL HULSE and CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — With a potential federal default a week away, a resolution to the debt limit crisis remained out of reach on Wednesday as White House and top Republican negotiators reported no breakthrough in another marathon day of discussions and members of Congress prepared to leave the capital for the holiday weekend.

Negotiators met for roughly four hours on Wednesday afternoon at the White House and were silent upon leaving, which some regarded as a hopeful sign after days of public posturing from both sides. Representative Patrick T. McHenry, Republican of North Carolina and a key bargainer, rushed past reporters at the Capitol saying: "No news."

Speaker Kevin McCarthy stayed uncharacteristically close-lipped after the meeting ended, leaving the Capitol on Wednesday night without speaking to reporters. But he expressed cautious optimism, telling Fox Business that "things are going a little better."

"I think today they would say they're making progress," Mr. McCarthy said of the negotiators.

With no deal imminent, Republican leaders told lawmakers they were free to return home for the Memorial Day weekend, but could be summoned back on short notice to vote. The announcement made clear that Mr. McCarthy and his deputies did not expect a resolution to avert a default to materialize until next week, just days from the projected June 1 deadline.

At the same time, the speaker sought to reassure the markets that a deal could be reached.

"I would not, if I was in the markets, be afraid of anything in this process," he said. "I wouldn't scare the markets in any shape or form. We will come to an agreement worthy of the American public, and there should not be any fear. Money is coming in every day."

Before the meeting, Mr. McCarthy sought to pressure President Biden and congressional Democrats to accept spending cuts to domestic programs in exchange for raising the debt limit and allowing the Treasury Department to avoid missing payments.

"You have to spend less than you spent last year," Mr. McCarthy said at a news conference in the Capitol as Biden administration and Republican negotiators gathered at the White House. "That is not that difficult to do. But in Washington, somehow that is a problem."

The administration has resisted cuts and instead pushed for a freeze on current spending levels. With Republicans insisting there be no cuts to defense or veterans' programs, the brunt of the reductions would affect social programs that Democrats favor.

Right-wing Republicans have

Expressing hope to reassure the markets as a deadline looms.

vowed to oppose any compromise that retreats from cuts that were part of their debt-limit bill, which was approved last month along party lines, so Mr. McCarthy is likely to need a substantial number of Democratic votes to pass any agreement. But congressional Democrats are resisting cuts in the overall budget.

Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, the chairwoman of the Progressive Caucus, said at a news conference that White House officials told her on Tuesday night that House G.O.P. negotiators had rejected proposals that could have reduced the deficit by $3 trillion, including closing tax loopholes and imposing new taxes on the highest earners. Mr. McCarthy has repeatedly said that Republicans will not accept any tax increases.

"We will continue to call out and reject this reckless hostage-taking from extreme MAGA Republicans," Ms. Jayapal said.

In an effort to pressure Mr. McCarthy and other Republicans not to accept any deal that falls short of the House-passed bill, Representative Chip Roy of Texas, an influential hard-liner, released a memo asserting that every measure in the legislation was "critical."

"None should be abandoned solely for the quest of a 'deal'," Mr. Roy wrote.

Many Democrats, too, were arguing against any compromise. Their leaders announced on Wednesday that the final two members of their caucus had signed a discharge petition aimed at bypassing Republican leaders and forcing debt-limit legislation to the floor. With their 213 signatures, Democrats would need at least five Republicans to break ranks and sign the petition for it to trigger such a vote. Democratic leaders called on Republicans to show that they are not allied with the most extreme wing of their party and help advance the petition to avert an economic catastrophe.

"It does appear increasingly likely that House Republicans want a dangerous default, they want to crash the economy and they want to trigger a job-killing recession," said Representative Hakeem Jeffries, Democrat of New York and the minority leader. "It's my hope that five Republicans from New York or California or other moderate districts throughout the country can prove me wrong."

The House is set to begin a weeklong Memorial Day recess on Friday. Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 Republican, advised lawmakers on Wednesday night that they should be prepared to return to the Capitol within 24 hours to approve a compromise bill. Mr. McCarthy has vowed to give lawmakers 72 hours to review any plan.

Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen has warned repeatedly that the government could exhaust its ability to meet all of its obligations by June 1.

Negotiations May Do Little to Change Government's Spending Path

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Total government spending would then be just under 24 percent of the economy — or nearly exactly what it is today.

While those cuts might not make much of a dent in the overall budget, they would still be felt by many Americans. Because the cuts would be so contained to one segment, many popular government programs would shrink by as much as 30 percent under that scenario, White House officials and independent analysts have calculated.

"The cuts Republicans propose would have severe impacts on education, public safety, child care, veterans' health care and more," the White House budget director, Shalanda Young, wrote in a memo last week.

Republicans have for months cited growing federal spending and debt as the reason they have refused to raise the nation's borrowing limit — risking default — unless Mr. Biden agrees to spending cuts.

Representative Garret Graves of Louisiana, one of Mr. McCarthy's top negotiators, said this week that the biggest gap with Biden administration officials was on spending numbers. "My interpretation of their position is that they fail to recognize or fail to see to the fact that we are on a spending trajectory right now that is absolutely unsustainable," he said.

Federal spending spiked during the Covid-19 pandemic, first under President Donald J. Trump and continuing under Mr. Biden, as lawmakers delivered trillions of dollars in assistance to businesses, people and state and local

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cuts to small programs would total a sliver of the budget, leaving spending on its current course.

Keeping politically popular programs like the military off limits.

governments. It remains higher than historical norms, when measured as a share of the economy, which is the easiest way to track spending patterns as prices have increased over time.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that total spending averaged just under 21 percent of gross domestic product from 1980 through 2019, just before the pandemic hit. It surged above 30 percent in 2020 and 2021. This fiscal year, it is expected to be just over 24 percent, falling slightly over the next several years and then beginning to grow again in the waning years of this decade, climbing past 25 percent in 2033.

Discretionary spending, though, is expected to decline over the decade as a share of the economy. Military spending — which Republicans have thus far refused to reduce as part of talks with Mr. Biden's team — should tick down slightly from 3 percent of the economy. Discretionary spending outside the military is now 3.6 percent but is expected to fall to 3.2 percent by 2033.

Social Security and Medicare, conversely, are expected to grow rapidly over the next 10 years, as retiring baby boomers qualify to receive health and retirement benefits. Social Security spending will rise from 4.8 percent to 6 percent of the economy in that time, the budget office projects, and Medicare will rise from 3.9 percent to 5.3 percent.

Analysts say those programs are the primary reason budget forecasts have long shown federal spending increasing in the coming decades — even before Mr. Biden took office.

"The entirety of the overall federal spending increase relative to G.D.P. over the long term can be accounted for by the growth in the major federal health programs (Medicare, Medicaid, and the A.C.A.) and Social Security," Charles P. Blahous, who studies federal spending and debt at the Mercatus Center at George Mason University, told the Senate Budget Committee this month in written testimony.

Conservative groups have criticized Republicans for not including the safety-net programs in debt demands. "While current debt ceiling negotiations largely concern ways to restrain the discretionary parts of the budget, any serious proposal to tackle the emerging debt and deficit crisis must also address our largest mandatory spending programs: Social Security and Medicare," Alex Durante, an economist at the Tax Foundation, which promotes lower taxes, wrote on Wednesday.

Liberal groups and the White House have criticized Mr. McCarthy and his team for neglecting the other side of the fiscal ledger: the nation's tax system. Tax receipts briefly surged last year but are expected to fall back toward historical norms this year, stabilizing around 18 percent of the economy, the budget office projects. Mr. McCarthy has cited last year's numbers to incorrectly claim current tax revenues are near record highs.

China-Tied Malware Hits Systems in Guam. Is Taiwan the Real Target?

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — Around the time that the F.B.I. was examining the equipment recovered from the Chinese spy balloon shot down off the South Carolina coast in February, American intelligence agencies and Microsoft detected what they feared was a more worrisome intruder: mysterious computer code appearing in telecommunications systems in Guam and elsewhere in the United States.

The code, which Microsoft said was installed by a Chinese government hacking group, raised alarms because Guam, with its Pacific ports and vast American air base, would be a centerpiece of any American military response to an invasion or blockade of Taiwan. The operation was conducted with great stealth, sometimes flowing through home routers and other common internet-connected consumer devices, to make the intrusion harder to track.

The code is called a "web shell," in this case a malicious script that enables remote access to a server. Home routers are particularly vulnerable, especially older models that have not had updated software and protections.

Unlike the balloon that fascinated Americans as it performed pirouettes over sensitive nuclear sites, the computer code could not be shot down on live television. So instead, Microsoft on Wednesday published details of the code that would make it possible for corporate users, manufacturers and others to detect and remove it. In a coordinated release, the National Security Agency — along with other domestic agencies and counterparts in Australia, Britain, New Zealand and Canada — published a 24-page advisory that referred to Microsoft's finding and offered broader warnings about a "recently discovered cluster of activity" from China.

So far, Microsoft says, there is no evidence that the Chinese group has used the access for any offensive attacks. Unlike Russian groups, the Chinese intelligence and military hackers usually prioritize espionage.

In interviews, administration officials said they believed the code was part of a vast Chinese intelligence collection effort that spans cyberspace, outer space and, as Americans discovered with the balloon incident, the lower atmosphere.

The Biden administration has declined to discuss what the F.B.I. found as it examined the equipment recovered from the balloon. But the craft — better described as a huge aerial vehicle — apparently included specialized radars and communications interception devices that the F.B.I. has been examining since the balloon was shot down.

It is unclear whether the government's silence about its finding from the balloon is motivated by a desire to keep the Chinese government from knowing what the United States has learned or to get past the diplomatic breach that followed the incursion.

On Sunday, speaking at a news conference in Hiroshima, Japan, President Biden referred to how the balloon incident had paralyzed the already frosty exchanges between Washington and Beijing. He predicted that relations would "begin to thaw very shortly."

On Wednesday, China sent a warning to its companies to be alert to American hacking. And there has been plenty of that, too: In documents released by Edward Snowden, the former N.S.A. contractor, there was evidence of American efforts to hack into the systems of Huawei, the Chinese telecommunications giant, and military and leadership targets.

Telecommunications networks are key targets for hackers, and the system in Guam is particularly important to China because military communications often piggyback on commercial networks.

Tom Burt, the executive who oversees Microsoft's threat intelligence unit, said in an interview that the company's analysts — many of them veterans of the National Security Agency and other intelligence agencies — had found the code "while investigating intrusion activity impacting a U.S. port." As they traced back the intrusion, they found other networks that were hit, "including some in the telecommunications sector in Guam."

Anne Neuberger, the deputy national security adviser for cyber and emerging technology, said that covert efforts "like the activity exposed today are part of what's driving our focus on the security of telecom networks and the urgency to use trusted vendors" whose equipment has met established cybersecurity standards.

A Pacific island would be a U.S. staging area for an attack response.

Ms. Neuberger has been spearheading an effort across the federal government to enforce new cybersecurity standards for critical infrastructure. Officials were taken by surprise by the extent of the vulnerabilities in such infrastructure when a Russian ransomware attack on Colonial Pipeline in 2021 interrupted gasoline, diesel and airplane fuel flow on the East Coast. In the wake of the attack, the Biden administration used little-known powers of the Transportation Security Administration — which regulates pipelines — to force private-sector utilities to follow a series of cybersecurity mandates.

Now Ms. Neuberger is driving what she called a "relentless focus on improving the cybersecurity of our pipelines, rail systems, water systems and other critical services," including the mandates on cybersecurity practices for these sectors and closer collaboration with companies with "unique visibility" into threats to such infrastructure.

Those firms include Microsoft, Google, Amazon and many telecommunications companies that can see activity on domestic networks. Intelligence agencies, including the National Security Agency, are forbidden by law from operating inside the United States. But the agency is permitted to publish warnings, as it did on Wednesday, alongside the F.B.I. and the Department of Homeland Security's Cyber Infrastructure and Security Administration.

The agency's report is part of a relatively new U.S. government move to publish such data quickly in hopes of burning operations like the one mounted by the Chinese government. In years past, the United States usually withheld such information — sometimes classifying it — and shared it with only a select few companies or organizations. But that almost always assured that the hackers could stay well ahead of the government.

In this case, it was the focus on Guam that particularly seized the attention of officials who are assessing China's capabilities — and its willingness — to attack or choke off Taiwan. Mr. Xi has ordered the People's Liberation Army to be capable of taking the island by 2027. But the C.I.A. director, William J. Burns, has noted to Congress that the order "does not mean he has decided to conduct an invasion."

In the dozens of U.S. tabletop exercises conducted in recent years to map out what such an attack might look like, one of China's first anticipated moves would be to cut off American communications and slow the United States' ability to respond. So the exercises envision attacks on satellite and ground communications, especially around American installations where military assets would be mobilized.

None is bigger than Guam, where Andersen Air Force Base would be the launching point for many of the Air Force missions to help defend the island, and a Navy port is crucial for American submarines.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARIN YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The construction of U.S. 71 in Kansas City, Mo., cut off predominantly Black neighborhoods from grocery stores, health care and jobs.

U.S. Plans to Stitch Together Cities Sliced by Highways

From Page A1

help develop plans for potential changes, such as building overpasses that could improve pedestrian safety and better connect people to mass transit.

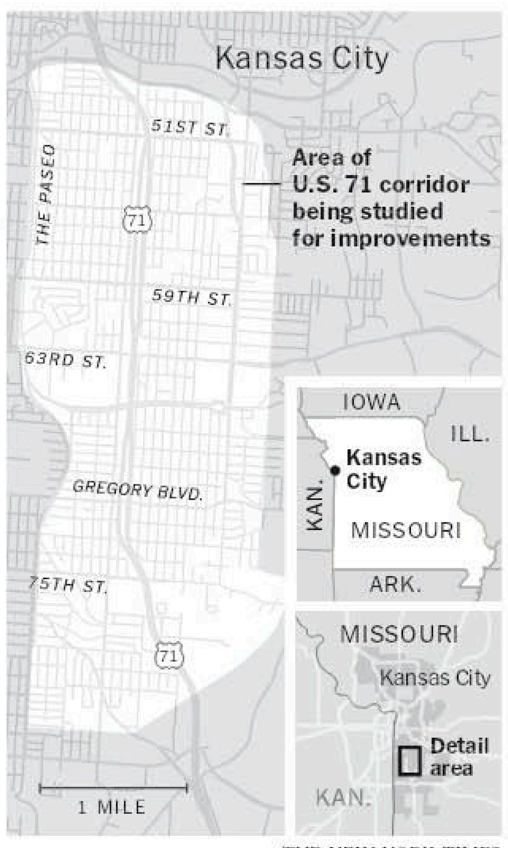
The funding is an example of the administration's efforts to address racial disparities resulting from how the United States built physical infrastructure in past decades. The Transportation Department has awarded funding to dozens of projects under the goal of reconnecting communities, including $185 million in grants as part of a pilot program created by the $1 trillion bipartisan infrastructure law.

But the project in Kansas City also shows just how difficult and expensive it can be to reverse long-ago decisions to build highways that slashed through communities of color and split up neighborhoods. Many of the projects funded by the Biden administration would leave highways intact but seek to lessen the damage they have caused to surrounding areas. And even taking out a roadway is just a first step to reinvigorating a neighborhood.

"Once you wreck a community, putting it back together is much more work than just removing an interstate," said Beth Osborne, who served as an acting assistant secretary at the Transportation Department during the Obama administration and is now the director of Transportation for America, an advocacy group.

The United States has a long history of highway projects dividing urban communities that dates back to the construction of the federal interstate highway system in the middle of the 20th century. In recent years, the idea of removing some of those roadways has gained traction in cities around the country, including Detroit, New Orleans and Syracuse, N.Y.

In his first year in office, as part of his infrastructure plan, President Biden proposed a $15 billion federal program to help bring improvements to communities harmed by the construction of transportation infrastructure. His original proposal was whittled



THE NEW YORK TIMES

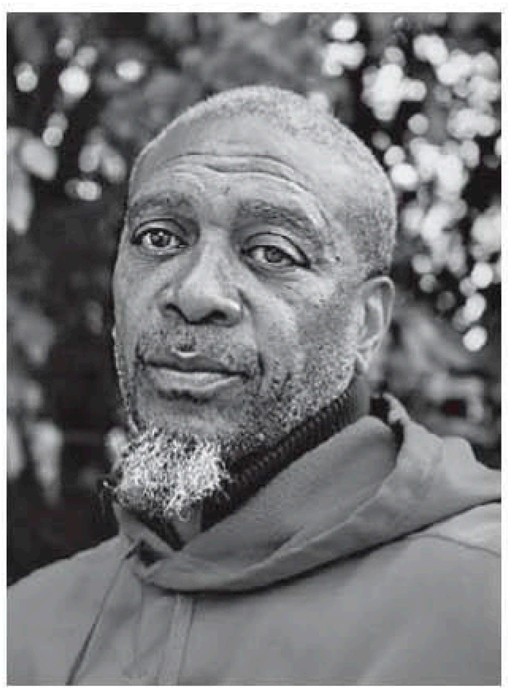
down to a much smaller program, with $1 billion in funding, in the bipartisan infrastructure package that Congress later approved.

The Transportation Department announced the first batch of grants under the program in February, awarding $185 million to 45 projects. The grants included about $56 million to help build a deck over an expressway in Buffalo and $30 million to go toward redesigning an urban freeway in Long Beach, Calif.

In a visit to Buffalo after the grants were announced, Pete Buttigieg, the transportation secretary, said that planners of some highways had "built them directly through the heart of vibrant communities — sometimes to reinforce segregation, sometimes because it was the path of least resistance, almost always because Black neighborhoods and low-income neighborhoods did not have the power to resist or reshape those projects."

"Now, most of the people who made those decisions aren't around today," Mr. Buttigieg continued. "No one here today is responsible for creating that situation in the first place. But all of us are responsible for what we do in our time to repair it, and that is why we're here today."

Kansas City officials received just over $1 million from that program to study how to reconnect another part of the city, the Westside neighborhood, which is separated from other areas by a different highway, Interstate 35.



To get to a nearby convenience store, Anthony Roberts must cross the busy highway on foot.

The Transportation Department is also using other grant money to support projects meant to stitch communities back together. The $5 million award that Kansas City received to address the impact of U.S. 71 came from a program called Rebuilding American Infrastructure with Sustainability and Equity, or RAISE.

The grant is meant to help the city devise plans for improvements along one stretch of the highway. City officials are not seeking to remove the roadway altogether, but they want to make it safer for pedestrians to get from one side to the other. Building overpasses could spare residents from the dangerous trip across the highway on foot and make it easier to get to a nearby bus route.

The idea for what is now U.S. 71 can be traced to the 1950s, when it was envisioned as a way to connect downtown Kansas City with areas to the south. A legal battle in the 1970s and 1980s delayed construction for more than a decade, and a portion of the route was ultimately refashioned into more of a parkway. Thousands of people, including many Black families, were displaced to make way for the 10-mile roadway, which is also known as Bruce R. Watkins Drive.

Its construction left a lasting imprint on Kansas City. The city's Country Club District, a group of historic neighborhoods west of the highway where homes commonly fetch upward of $1 million, was untouched by the roadway. The area to the east of the highway is markedly different, with lower property values and more abandoned and foreclosed homes.

Kansas City's mayor, Quinton Lucas, said it was impossible to live in his city and not know the scar that the highway left on the Black community. Churches, schools and businesses disappeared after it was built, he said.

Mr. Lucas said that fighting to undo the damage caused by the roadway — and righting the wrongs that had affected the city's Black residents — was a top priority for him.

"It's how to make sure we are linking businesses on both sides, how do we make it easier for people who can cross without a car and how to engage a neighborhood and not have them known as just a highway," he said.

Ron Hunt, who for decades has lived in the Blue Hills neighborhood west of U.S. 71, said he had watched the highway cripple the area economically, drive up crime and limit access to grocery stores. Mr. Hunt said that as other parts of the city continued to grow and blossom, it pained him to see his community wilt after the highway was built.

Residents like Lisa Ray are trying to preserve what remains of neighborhoods they loved. Ms. Ray grew up in Town Fork Creek just east of U.S. 71, which was once a pleasant middle-class area filled with Black-owned businesses. But the highway destroyed it, she said.

"It sounded good 40 years ago when they first started this project," she said. "It did not turn out the way any of us thought it would."

Now, she and other members of the Town Fork Creek Neighborhood Association volunteer to provide food and other necessities to elderly residents whom the highway has cut off from grocery stores. They also buy trash bags and organize cleanups to keep bottles, car parts and papers from lining the streets. The neighborhood association has spent money purchasing door security bars to help prevent break-ins in the area.

"All we do is try," Ms. Ray said. "I try every day, block by block. I can't help everyone, but I do try."

Kitty Bennett contributed research.

Typhoon Pummels Guam, Leaving Thousands in Dark

*This article is by **Josie Moyer, Mar-Vic Cagurangan, Mike Ives** and **Derrick Bryson Taylor**.*

TUMON, Guam — Guam residents woke up on Thursday to survey the damage after a long night of whipping winds and lightning storms from Mawar, a typhoon that downed coconut and mango trees and knocked out power across much of the U.S. Pacific territory as its strength peaked late Wednesday night.

The storm had been upgraded to a super typhoon, meaning that its maximum sustained winds were at least 150 miles per hour as it moved over open water.

As it passed over Guam, the storm packed Category 4-level winds of about 140 miles per hour at "just prior to midnight" local time on Wednesday, according to a meteorologist from the National Weather Service in Guam, which issued updates via livestream through the early morning and after sunrise on Thursday.

"As sunlight is starting to peek, we are waking up to a rather disturbing scene out there across Guam," said one of the meteorologists during an update at 8 a.m. Thursday from the Service's office in Guam. "We are looking out our door and what used to be a jungle looks like toothpicks. It looks like a scene from the movie 'Twister,' with trees just thrashed apart."

There were no immediate reports of deaths or injuries. But the storm was so strong that it broke wind sensors and radar equipment that send meteorological data to the local Weather Service office — and brought all but two coconut trees outside the building crashing down, including what a forecaster said was "our prized mango tree" on the property.

The Weather Service had previously said it had been a long night of thrashing for the island, with blustery conditions starting on Wednesday afternoon. More than a foot of rain fell across Guam, and that amount approached two feet in some areas, forecasters said.

The good news, meteorologists said, was that conditions were beginning to subside after the storm exited the Mariana archipelago, of which Guam is the southernmost and largest territory.

Still, the Service cautioned that it was keeping its typhoon warnings active for Guam and Rota, the nearest island, because they could experience tropical-force winds through the morning. The Service said a significant portion of Guam lacked phone service and its office would close and move forecast operations to Honolulu so staff could return to their homes.

During a livestream directed at island residents on Wednesday night, Gov. Lou Leon Guerrero of Guam urged people to stay home "for your safety and for your protection" until conditions were declared safe. Howling winds and banging sounds could be heard in the background as she spoke into the camera.

"What we are feeling right now is the eye going over the Rota Channel and the hardest of the winds of this typhoon is what we are experiencing, more so on the north," she said, adding "I will be making an assessment of the devastation of our island as soon as it's safe for me to go outside."

Government personnel were still assessing damage.

A spokesman for the Federal Emergency Management Agency said on Twitter that the agency had activated its coordination center to support Guam and the Mariana Islands.

The super typhoon was regaining strength and, according to forecast models, could head west toward the Philippines and Taiwan.

The storm was the strongest to hammer Guam in years and was expected to continue to generate tropical storm-force winds before weakening on Thursday, the Weather Service forecaster warned. The storm had moved 45 miles northwest of Guam as of 1 a.m. local time, but typhoon warnings were expected to be extended through much of the morning, the forecaster said.

The Guam Power Authority said that the island's energy grid was providing power to only about 1,000 of its roughly 52,000 customers on Wednesday afternoon, and that it was too dangerous for repair crews to venture outside. It had not updated those figures as of Thursday morning in Guam.

The 150,000 or so people who live on Guam, an island nearly the size of Chicago, are used to tropical cyclones. The last big one, Super Typhoon Pongsona, came ashore in 2002 with the force of a Category 4 hurricane and caused more than $700 million in damage.

On Tuesday, President Biden declared an emergency for Guam, allowing federal agencies to assist with relief efforts. Local officials also issued evacuation orders and halted commercial aviation.

The storm was also affecting the U.S. military, which has a number of major facilities on the island. All military aircraft either left the island before the storm or were placed in protective hangars, Lt. Cmdr. Katie Koenig of the U.S. Navy said in a statement on Wednesday. Nearly all military ships left as well, she said.

Josie Moyer reported from Tumon; Mar-Vic Cagurangan from Barrigada, Guam; Mike Ives from Seoul; and Derrick Bryson Taylor from London. John Yoon, Victoria Kim, McKenna Oxenden and Jin Yu Young contributed reporting.

JAMES REYNOLDS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A video image of Tumon Bay, Guam, on Wednesday as Typhoon Mawar blew in, knocking out electricity to much of the island.

DIA DIPASUPIL/GETTY IMAGES FOR MTV

Federal prosecutors said Fetty Wap, 31, a New Jersey rapper, sang about the drug trade even as he participated in it.

Fetty Wap to Serve 6 Years In Prison for Drug Trafficking

By KAREN ZRAICK

Fetty Wap, a New Jersey rapper who shot to fame with his hit "Trap Queen," an ode to a romance entangled in the drug trade, was sentenced to six years in federal prison on Wednesday for trafficking narcotics across the country.

The singer, whose legal name is Willie Junior Maxwell II, 31, had been in custody since his bail was revoked in August, after prosecutors said he had, while on a FaceTime call, displayed a firearm and threatened to kill someone. He subsequently pleaded guilty to conspiracy to distribute 500 grams or more of cocaine.

On Wednesday, he appeared before Judge Joanna Seybert at the federal court in Central Islip, N.Y., to receive a sentence one year longer than the minimum. Mr. Maxwell waved to about 20 family members and friends who attended the sentencing as he entered the courtroom wearing a beige jumpsuit, his dreadlocks pulled back from his face.

His lawyer, Elizabeth Macedonio, argued that Mr. Maxwell had been supporting many relatives and children and that he had needed money to sustain them once the pandemic ended live entertainment. Mr. Maxwell himself apologized to the communities and families of drug users he hurt.

"I only ever wanted to help my family," Mr. Maxwell told the judge. "I never asked myself if it was all-the-way right."

Prosecutors had argued for a longer term, saying that he had used his fame to "glamorize the drug trade" while making millions from his music after "Trap Queen" was released in 2015. They pointed to the use of children as extras in the song's music video and noted the ample media attention the case had received.

Christopher Caffarone, a prosecutor, on Wednesday asked the judge to remember the "collateral consequences" of drug abuse and pointed out that many people suffered during the pandemic, but "they didn't turn to peddling poison."

Judge Seybert called the case one of the most difficult she has had to decide in 30 years on the bench, noting that Mr. Maxwell overcame obstacles to achieve "unbelievable fame" — only to throw it away. She noted his loving, supportive family, many of whom had written to her, and his relationship to his children. But his crime was serious, and his actions while out on bail raised serious questions, she said.

"The thing you cannot escape is that there were other choices," she said.

In March, one of Mr. Maxwell's co-defendants, Anthony Cyntje, a former New Jersey corrections officer, was sentenced to six years for acting as a courier of cocaine. Maxwell's remaining four co-defendants pleaded guilty and are awaiting sentencing.

Mr. Maxwell, who hails from Paterson, N.J., and lost his left eye to congenital glaucoma, was at the height of his musical success when he was selling drugs. "Trap Queen," featuring his distinctive mix of singing and rapping, had reached No. 2 on the U.S. Billboard Hot 100 chart in May 2015. The music site Pitchfork described his "devilishly melodic singing voice" as a "warbling, lightning-shocked instrument." He was nominated for two Grammys the following year and appeared on the VH1 reality show "Love & Hip Hop: Hollywood."

A rapper argues he was only trying to support his family.

In court Wednesday, Ms. Macedonio laid out the obstacles Mr. Maxwell had previously faced, including constant bullying because of his glaucoma and drug addiction before the start of his music career with the group Remy Boyz. Then "Trap Queen" hit the airwaves.

"Suddenly the kid from Paterson, the kid who was supposed to go nowhere, was in the national spotlight," she said.

She noted that the accusations only involved a six-month period of activity about three years ago and accused the prosecutors of trying to use his fame against him in their argument for a longer sentence, saying it showed "a complete disconnect" between law enforcement and the music world.

Since August, he has been held in protective custody at the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, because of concern he would be targeted for his fame.

After Mr. Maxwell's arrest, he hustled to take on as many gigs as possible to make money for his family before what he knew would be a lengthy prison sentence, she said.

Even as the case was pending, Mr. Maxwell released a slow R&B jam called "Sweet Yamz." Prosecutors said that was code for drugs.

Housing Chief Quits Amid Homelessness Crisis

By MIHIR ZAVERI and JEFFERY C. MAYS

KIRSTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jessica Katz, New York City's chief housing officer, said she accomplished much of what she wanted.

Since Eric Adams became mayor, his response to New York City's housing crisis has been characterized by enormous challenges, along with some stumbles.

The city subsidized fewer affordable homes last year than during any year since 2015. The mayor failed to convince Albany legislators to support crucial measures that would have helped. An influx of migrants stretched the shelter system to a breaking point.

Now, the architect of the mayor's housing plan has announced that she is leaving the administration, dealing City Hall another setback at a time when rents are rising and the homeless shelter population has reached record levels.

The official, Jessica Katz, the city's chief housing officer, said Wednesday that she would step down sometime this summer, saying in an interview that she had accomplished much of what she had set out to do and that she needed "a little time off" to spend with her children. She also said in a statement that she was proud to have worked with Mr. Adams to "set the course for our city's housing policy."

Mr. Adams had praise for Ms. Katz as well, saying she had "worked every day to ensure that New Yorkers were at the center of our housing policies, whether an individual experiencing homelessness, a family living in NYCHA, or a lifelong New Yorker struggling to stay in the neighborhood they love."

The expressions of camaraderie, however, did not reflect some of the struggles Ms. Katz had faced in her role, according to two people who were familiar with her thinking but were unauthorized to speak publicly about it.

There has been confusion among city employees about who was in charge of dealing with the city's mounting housing problems, whether it was one of Mr. Adams's deputy mayors, for example, or Ms. Katz. That was one of the reasons she decided to step down, one of the people said.

Another factor in Ms. Katz's decision, the second person said, was her frustration with the mayor's opposition to legislation that could increase the number of people who can access city-funded housing vouchers — specifically, a bill that would end a requirement that people stay in homeless shelters for 90 days before they're eligible to receive them.

Members of the City Council are pushing the bill as part of a package of legislation designed to reduce the homeless population and help people facing eviction.

The bill's sponsors believe it would help free up room in the shelter system and get people into stable, permanent housing more quickly. The mayor has argued it would cost the city billions of dollars at a moment when it is facing financial difficulties.

In the interview, Ms. Katz disputed the notion that the mayor's position on the legislation played a role in her resignation and said that she had notified him two weeks ago about her decision.

She said she thought the package of bills, as they were currently written, were "misguided" and echoed the mayor's worries about costs.

Questions about how much authority the mayor was actually giving Ms. Katz have swirled since her appointment in January 2022. Housing advocates noted that Ms. Katz did not receive a "deputy mayor" title, unlike her counterparts in previous administrations. Decisions about major housing issues, such as redeveloping neighborhoods, seemed to flow through other city officials.

In the interview, Ms. Katz said it was "always a balancing act" to decide how much responsibility any one person in an administration should have. She said she expected Mr. Adams to continue to adjust officials' responsibilities with her departure.

The housing problem in New York City is severe. Almost 600,000 households spend more than half of their income on rent, according to a recent city survey.

More than 78,000 people were in the city's main shelter system as of early May, and the administration has said it is overwhelmed. Mr. Adams began a push on Tuesday to eliminate the city's right-to-shelter guarantee, which requires the city to offer shelter to anyone who asks for it.

Diana Ayala, the deputy speaker of the City Council, who represents East Harlem and parts of the Bronx, said Ms. Katz's departure was evidence that the city "desperately" needed a deputy mayor for housing to coordinate the response to the joint crises of homelessness and the thousands of migrants in need of housing, saying, "I think you can't do one without the other."

Christine Quinn, chief executive of WIN, a network of shelters for women and children, said she was impressed when Ms. Katz brought people experiencing homelessness to the table to discuss how the city could better serve them.

"She has the unique ability to work with the advocates and the developers," Ms. Quinn said. "I found her to be smart and compassionate and able to balance competing interests. It is a real loss."

During her tenure, Ms. Katz focused on addressing the deteriorating conditions in public housing and helped put in place a system through which residents living in public housing developments could vote on whether they should be placed under private management.

She said she was proud of creating a system where New Yorkers who had experience with homelessness could help shape city housing policy.

She tried to undo the dysfunction and bureaucracy many people encounter when trying to avoid homelessness. In recent months, she had also focused on finding places for migrants to stay.

"With her background, I would imagine that the policy decisions being made at City Hall are, probably, sometimes contrary to what she's accustomed to in her belief system," Ms. Ayala said.

Before joining the administration, Ms. Katz was the executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council, a nonprofit research group. She also worked in the administrations of Mr. Adams's most immediate predecessors, Mayors Bill de Blasio and Michael R. Bloomberg.

Ms. Katz is among the recent high-level departures from the Adams administration. Also leaving are the mayor's communications director, chief counsel and, the administration confirmed on Wednesday, Melanie La Rocca, the city's chief efficiency officer.

"It has been an honor to serve as the city's first chief efficiency officer, and drive forward Mayor Adams' vision for a more efficient city government," Ms. La Rocca said in a statement.

Rachel Fee, executive director of the New York Housing Conference, a nonprofit advocacy group, called Ms. Katz's departure a "huge loss."

She said Mr. Adams should "now elevate housing to a deputy mayor role at this critical time to steer agencies struggling with an overwhelmed emergency shelter system, administrative processing challenges and declining affordable housing production."

Commissioner Seeks Discipline for Top N.Y.P.D. Officer

By MARIA CRAMER and CHELSIA ROSE MARCIUS

VINCENT ALBAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A review board concluded that Chief Jeffrey Maddrey had "improperly influenced an arrest."

Commissioner Keechant Sewell has proposed punishment for one of the New York Police Department's top chiefs after accusations that he interfered with the arrest of a retired officer who chased three boys while armed, according to two people with knowledge of her decision.

Jeffrey Maddrey, the highest-ranking uniformed officer, has been told that the commissioner proposed he lose up to 10 vacation days, according to the people, who spoke on condition of anonymity because they are not authorized to discuss the case.

They said that Chief Maddrey plans to fight the charges in a department trial that would be prosecuted by lawyers for the Civilian Complaint Review Board, an independent agency charged with investigating complaints of misconduct.

While the proposed punishment might seem light, any discipline for the chief of department would send a message about abuse of power to the 34,000 uniformed officers whom he oversees in America's biggest police force.

The review board concluded last month that Chief Maddrey had "improperly influenced an arrest" when he ordered the release of the retired officer, Kruythoff Forrester, on the night before Thanksgiving in 2021.

The department said in a statement that it would not comment on open disciplinary matters.

Commissioner Sewell has rejected hundreds of disciplinary recommendations by the Civilian Complaint Review Board. Mayor Eric Adams, a former police captain who appointed Commissioner Sewell, has publicly defended him.

"I'm just so proud to have him as chief of the department," Mr. Adams said last month, following the release of the board's recommendation. Soon after, religious leaders marched in front of police headquarters in support of Chief Maddrey.

As first reported by the online news organization The City, department video showed Chief Maddrey at a Brooklyn precinct on Nov. 24, 2021, after he got a call that Mr. Forrester, whom he once supervised, was under arrest.

A sergeant had found probable cause to arrest Mr. Forrester after the three boys, who were 12, 13 and 14 at the time, called 911 to report he had come after them with a gun.

Mr. Forrester argued that he never unholstered his weapon and had followed the boys after one threw a basketball at a surveillance camera outside a building that his family owns in Brooklyn, breaking it.

The sergeant arrested him after the boys were able to describe Mr. Forrester's gun accurately. Mr. Forrester was initially charged with menacing: the crime of putting another person in fear of immediate physical injury.

The Brooklyn district attorney's office said it found "no criminality" by Mr. Forrester after reviewing video footage from police body cameras and surveillance cameras, none showing Mr. Forrester holding a weapon.

Lambros Y. Lambrou, a lawyer for Chief Maddrey, rejected any wrongdoing by his client in a statement Wednesday evening. "He is — as completely, appropriately and properly evidenced by the Brooklyn DA's decision not to criminally charge retired officer Forrester — innocent, and we look forward to a departmental trial," Mr. Lambrou said. The trial would "completely exonerate" the chief, Mr. Lambrou added.

The review board, however, said that the sergeant had probable cause to make an arrest and that Chief Maddrey could not explain how the children each described Mr. Forrester's "distinctive firearm so similarly," according to its report, apparently undermining the ex-officer's claim that he never took his weapon out.

When Chief Maddrey arrived at the precinct, he reviewed the video, then lectured the sergeant who had ordered the arrest, according to the report. Chief Maddrey told him that, as a retired officer, Mr. Forrester was allowed to carry a firearm and "that the children should have been arrested for criminal misconduct," the report said.

Maryanne K. Kaishian, a lawyer for the boys, described the commissioner's decision as a positive move.

"It's certainly something that the boys were asking for," she said. "They're the true victims in this case. I don't want to lose sight amid this fiasco of the true harm that was caused to them when they were chased by an adult with a gun."

Tentative Deal Ends Strike By Queens Hospital Doctors

By JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN

Resident doctors ended a three-day strike at Elmhurst Hospital Center in Queens after reaching a tentative deal on Wednesday that they say brings them closer to earning as much as their counterparts in Manhattan.

The strike was the first by hospital doctors in New York City in more than 30 years, and it drew widespread attention in part because of where it occurred. Elmhurst was one of the first hospitals in the United States to be overwhelmed by Covid-19. Descriptions by Elmhurst doctors of desperate and dying patients in March 2020 offered a warning to the rest of the country of what was coming.

The pandemic has led to a rising tide of activism among doctors. The strike participants, more than 150 in all, were all resident physicians, as newly minted doctors undergoing training in hospitals are called. Their demands included higher pay and stronger guarantees for hazard pay in the event of a future pandemic.

Dr. Tanathun Kajornsakchai, one of the residents' leaders, said the tentative deal put him and his colleagues "much closer" to achieving parity with some of their colleagues in Manhattan.

"We got more than we would have gotten otherwise," Dr. Kajornsakchai said, adding, "It's a big fight that this small group of residents has taken on."

Elmhurst is one of the city's 11 publicly run hospitals, which treat many of the city's undocumented immigrants, its working poor and its indigent patients. However, resident physicians working at Elmhurst are not employed by the public hospital system, but by the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai in Manhattan. As a result, the city's public hospital system, N.Y.C. Health and Hospitals, was mainly a bystander in the labor dispute.

The residents noted that their salaries were lower than what Mount Sinai pays residents at its highly ranked hospital on East 98th Street, opposite Central Park. The salary difference is about $7,000 for first-year residents, they said. Some of the striking doctors said they believed that the pay disparity was related to the fact that many of the resident physicians in the city's public hospitals are foreign nationals who are here on visas.

"The proposed agreement is fair, responsible, and puts patients and residents' educational training first," Lucia Lee, a Mount Sinai spokeswoman, said in a statement.

The union representing the striking doctors, the Committee of Interns and Residents, said the doctors would be back at work Thursday morning. The strike, which began on Monday, involved only resident physicians from the departments of internal medicine, pediatrics and psychiatry.

Corrections

ARTS

An article on Wednesday about takeaways from New York's art auction week misstated the date of a Noah Davis painting. It was created in 2010, not 2020. The error was repeated in a picture caption.

OBITUARIES

An obituary on Saturday about the football star, actor and civil rights activist Jim Brown referred incorrectly to the character Raquel Welch played in the 1969 movie "100 Rifles," in which she and Brown had a sex scene together. The character was Native American, not white.

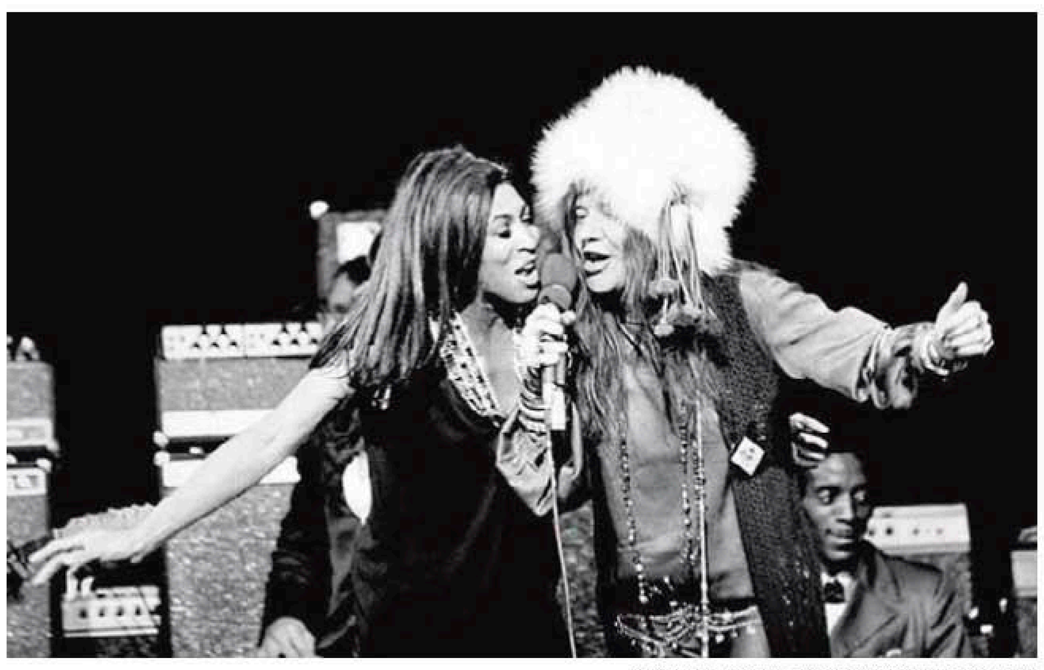
Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Contact the Newsroom
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

Tina Turner, 83, Rock Queen Whose Voice and Legs Wouldn't Quit, Dies

PHIL RAMEY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tina Turner in concert in Los Angeles in 1984. Her album "Private Dancer," which was released that year, returned her to the spotlight after a long absence and catapulted her into the pop stratosphere.



MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

With Janis Joplin in 1969. Ms. Turner, who had begun adding rock songs to her repertoire, started reaching a wider audience.

REUTERS

Onstage with Mick Jagger during the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame ceremony in 1989. She was inducted twice, in 1991 and in 2021.

GETTY IMAGES

With her first husband, right, as the Ike and Tina Turner Revue in 1964. The group broke into the mainstream a few years later.

From Page A1

and the Stones to her repertoire, reached an enormous new audience, giving the Ike and Tina Turner Revue its first Top 10 hit with her version of the Creedence Clearwater Revival song "Proud Mary" in 1971 and a Grammy Award for best R&B vocal performance by a group.

"In the context of today's show business, Tina Turner must be the most sensational professional onstage," Ralph J. Gleason, the influential jazz and pop critic for The San Francisco Chronicle, wrote in a review of a Rolling Stones concert in Oakland in November 1969. "She comes on like a hurricane. She dances and twists and shakes and sings and the impact is instant and total."

But if the Ike and Tina Turner Revue was a success, the Ike and Tina Turner marriage was not. Mr. Turner was abusive. After she escaped the marriage in her 30s, her career faltered. But her solo album "Private Dancer," released in 1984, returned her to the spotlight — and lifted her into the pop stratosphere.

Working with younger songwriters, and backed by a smooth, synthesized sound that provided a lustrous wrapping for her raw, urgent vocals, she delivered three mammoth hits: the title song, written by Mark Knopfler of Dire Straits; "Better Be Good to Me"; and "What's Love Got to Do With It."

Referring to its "innovative fusion of old-fashioned soul singing and new wave synth-pop," Stephen Holden, in a review for The New York Times, called the album "a landmark not only in the career of the 45-year-old singer, who has been recording since the late 1950s, but in the evolution of pop-soul music itself."

At the 1985 Grammy Awards, "What's Love Got to Do With It" won three awards, for record of the year, song of the year and best female pop vocal performance, and "Better Be Good To Me" won for best female rock vocal performance.

The album went on to sell five million copies and ignite a touring career that established Ms. Turner as a worldwide phenomenon. In 1988 she appeared before about 180,000 people at the Maracanã Stadium in Rio de Janeiro, breaking a record for the largest paying audience for a solo artist. After her "Twenty Four Seven" tour in 2000 sold more than $100 million in tickets, Guinness World Records announced that she had sold more concert tickets than any other solo performer in history.

'Well-to-Do Farmers'

Tina Turner was born Anna Mae Bullock on Nov. 26, 1939, in Brownsville, Tenn., northeast of Memphis, and spent her earliest years on the Poindexter farm in Nutbush, an unincorporated area nearby, where she sang in the choir of the Spring Hill Baptist Church.

Her father, Floyd, known by his middle name, Richard, worked as the farm's overseer — "We were well-to-do farmers," Ms. Turner told Rolling Stone in 1986 — and had a difficult relationship with his wife, Zelma (Currie) Bullock.

Her parents left Anna and her older sister, Alline, with relatives when they went to work at a military installation in Knoxville during World War II. The family reunited after the war, but Zelma left her husband a few years later and Anna lived with her grandmother in Brownsville.

After rejoining her mother in St. Louis, she attended Sumner High School there. She and Alline began frequenting the Manhattan Club in East St. Louis, Ill., to hear Ike Turner and the Kings of Rhythm.

"I wanted to get up there and sing *sooooo* bad," Ms. Turner recalled in "I, Tina: My Life Story" (1986), written with Kurt Loder. "But that took an entire year."

One night, during one of the band's breaks, the drummer, Eugene Washington, handed her the microphone and she began singing the B.B. King song "You Know I Love You," which Mr. Turner had produced. "When Ike heard me, he said, 'My God!'" she told People magazine in 1981. "He couldn't believe that voice coming out of this frail little body."

In his book "Takin' Back My Name: The Confessions of Ike Turner" (1999), written with Nigel Cawthorne, Mr. Turner wrote: "I'd be writing songs with Little Richard in mind, but I didn't have no Little Richard to sing them, so Tina was my Little Richard. Listen closely to Tina and who do you hear? Little Richard singing in the female voice."

Mr. Turner used her as a backup singer, billed as Little Ann, on his 1958 record "Boxtop." When Art Lassiter, the group's lead singer, failed to show up for the recording of "A Fool in Love," she stepped in. The record was a hit, reaching No. 2 on the Billboard R&B chart and No. 27 on the pop chart.

Mr. Turner gave his protégée — who by now was also his romantic partner — a new name, Tina, inspired by the television character Sheena, Queen of the Jungle. And he renamed the group the Ike and Tina Turner Revue.

It was a dynamic, disciplined ensemble second only to the James Brown Revue, but until "Proud Mary," it never achieved significant crossover success. Up to that point it had only one single in the pop Top 20 in the United States, "It's Gonna Work Out Fine" in 1961. The group did generate several hits on the R&B charts, notably "I Idolize You," "It's Gonna Work Out Fine" and "Tra La La La La," but most of its income came from a relentless touring schedule.

Ms. Turner's relationship with Mr. Turner, whom she married in 1962 on a quick trip to Tijuana, Mexico, was turbulent. He was dictatorial, violent at times and, in the 1970s, hopelessly addicted to cocaine. She left him in 1976, with 36 cents and a Mobil gasoline card in her pocket, and divorced him two years later. He died of a cocaine overdose in 2007.

"When I left, I was living a life of death," she told People in 1981. "I didn't exist. I didn't fear him killing me when I left, because I was already dead. When I walked out, I didn't look back."

Her marriage provided much of the material for the 1993 film "What's Love Got to Do With It," with Angela Bassett and Laurence Fishburne in the lead roles. Ms. Turner rerecorded some of her hits, and a new song, "I Don't Wanna Fight," for the film, but otherwise declined to participate. "Why would I want to see Ike Turner beat me up again?" she said at the time.

A Second Career

In 1966, the record producer Phil Spector, after hearing the Ike and Tina Turner Revue at the Galaxy Club in Los Angeles, offered $20,000 to produce their next song, on condition that Mr. Turner stay away from the studio. The result, "River Deep, Mountain High," is often regarded as the high-water mark of Mr. Spector's patented "wall of sound." It failed in the United States, barely reaching the Top 100, but it was a big hit in Britain, where it marked the beginning of a second career for Ms. Turner.

"I loved that song," she wrote in her 1986 memoir. "Because for the first time in my life, it wasn't just R&B — it had structure, it had a melody." She added: "I was a singer, and I knew I could do other things; I just never got the opportunity. 'River Deep' showed people what I had in me."

After she walked out on her marriage, encumbered with debt, Ms. Turner struggled to build a solo career, appearing in ill-conceived cabaret acts, before signing with Roger Davies, the manager of Olivia Newton-John, in 1979. Guided by Mr. Davies, she returned to the gritty, hard-rocking style that had made her a crossover star and would propel her through the coming decades as one of the most durable performers on the concert stage.

Her fellow artists took notice. In 1982, Martyn Ware and Ian Craig Marsh, of the band and production company known as the British Electric Foundation, recruited her to record the Temptations' 1970 hit "Ball of Confusion" for an album of soul and rock covers backed by synthesizers. Its success led to a second collaboration, a remake of Al Green's "Let's Stay Together." A surprise hit in the United States and Britain, it was the turning point that led to "Private Dancer."

Ms. Turner followed the runaway success of "Private Dancer" with two more hit albums: "Break Every Rule" (1986) and "Foreign Affair" (1989), which contained the hit single "The Best."

She made an impact onscreen as well. Ten years after she solidified her persona as a rock 'n' roller with a riveting performance as the Acid Queen in Ken Russell's film version of "Tommy," the Who's rock opera, she drew praise for her performance as Aunty Entity, the iron-fisted ruler of post-apocalyptic Bartertown, in "Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome" in 1985.

That film also provided her with two more hit singles, "We Don't Need Another Hero (Thunderdome)" and "One of the Living," which was named the best female rock vocal performance at the Grammys in 1986.

In 1991 she and Mr. Turner, in prison at the time for cocaine possession, were inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame. (She was inducted again as a solo artist in 2021.) She received a Kennedy Center Honor in 2005 and a Grammy lifetime achievement award in 2018.

In 1985 she began a relationship with the German music executive Erwin Bach, whom she married in 2013 after moving with him to Küsnacht and becoming a Swiss citizen. He survives her. Ron, her only child with Mr. Turner, died of colon cancer complications in 2022. Another son, Craig, from her relationship with Raymond Hill, the saxophone player for the Kings of Rhythm, died by suicide in 2018. Her sister, Alline Bullock, died in 2010. Ms. Turner raised two children of Mr. Turner's, Ike Jr. and Michael.

Complete information on her survivors was not immediately available.

After releasing the album "Twenty Four Seven" in 1999, at 60 and touring to promote it, Ms. Turner announced her retirement. It did not last. In 2008, after performing with Beyoncé at the Grammy Awards, she embarked on an international tour marking her 50th year in the music business.

She announced her retirement again a few years later, but she remained active in other ways. In 2018, she published her second memoir, "My Love Story."

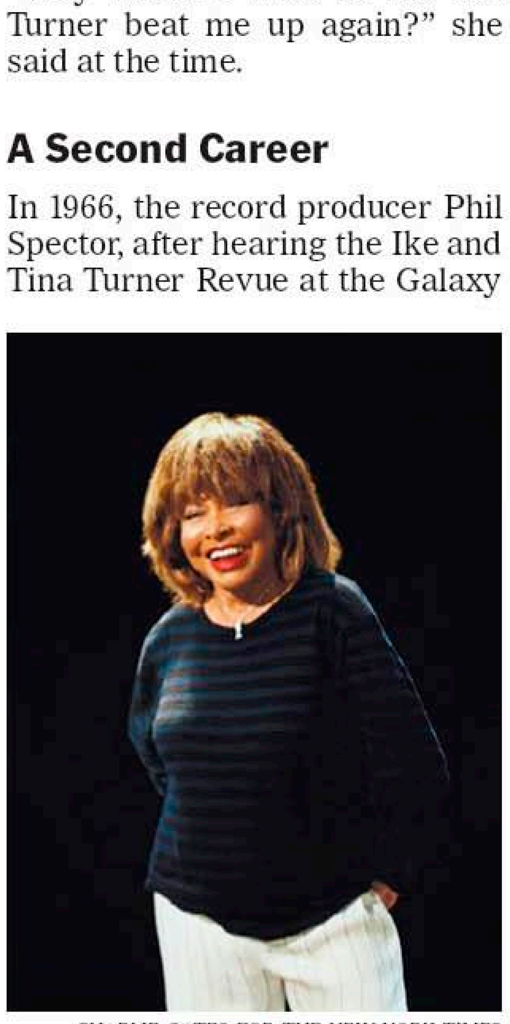
She and Mr. Bach were executive producers of "Tina: The Tina Turner Musical," a stage show based on her life and incorporating many of her hits, which opened in London in 2018 and in Hamburg and on Broadway in 2019; Ms. Turner worked with the show's choreographer and shared memories with its writers.

While reviews were mixed, the musical earned 12 Tony Award nominations; Adrienne Warren, who starred as Ms. Turner, won the award for best actress in a leading role. "In a performance that is part possession, part workout and part wig," Jesse Green wrote in a review for The Times, "Adrienne Warren rocks the rafters and dissolves your doubts about anyone daring to step into the diva's high heels."

The show closed after four months because of the pandemic lockdown, reopening in October 2021 before closing again a year later and going on the road. There are currently two productions: one that is touring the U.S. and one in London.

Through it all, Ms. Turner's music endured.

"My music doesn't sound dated; it's still standing strong," she told The Daily Mail in 2008. "Like me."



CHARLIE GATES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ms. Turner, after performing with Beyoncé at the 2008 Grammy Awards, right, came out of retirement to go on a world tour to mark 50 years in the music business. Above, the rock 'n' roll superstar in 2019.

MIKE BLAKE/REUTERS

Heartfelt Tributes To a Showstopper

By MICHAEL LEVENSON and APRIL RUBIN

Rock and soul singers, civil rights activists and political leaders mourned Tina Turner on Wednesday as a trailblazing artist whose music and life epitomized resilience, determination, heart and the power to not only survive but thrive over five decades in the music industry.

Magic Johnson, the former basketball star, wrote on Twitter: "She created the blueprint for other great entertainers like Janet Jackson and Beyoncé and her legacy will continue on through all high-energy performing artists."

"This woman rose like a Phoenix from the ashes of abuse, a derailed career, and no money to a renaissance like I've never seen in entertainment," Sherrilyn Ifill, the former president of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, said on Twitter. "She became fully herself and showed us all how it's done."

Former President Barack Obama said on Twitter that "Tina Turner was raw. She was powerful. She was unstoppable. And she was unapologetically herself — speaking and singing her truth through joy and pain; triumph and tragedy."

Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones, who toured with Ms. Turner in the 1960s, said that he was "so saddened by the passing of my wonderful friend Tina Turner."

"She helped me so much when I was young and I will never forget her," Mr. Jagger wrote on Instagram.

The actress Angela Bassett, who was nominated for an Oscar for her portrayal of Ms. Turner in the 1993 film "What's Love Got to Do With It," said in a statement: "Through her courage in telling her story, her commitment to stay the course in her life, no matter the sacrifice, and her determination to carve out a space in rock and roll for herself and for others who look like her, Tina Turner showed others who lived in fear what a beautiful future filled with love, compassion, and freedom should look like," Ms. Bassett said. "Her final words to me — for me — were 'You never mimicked me. Instead, you reached deep into your soul, found your inner Tina, and showed her to the world.'"

Bill Lee, 94, Bassist and Composer For Son Spike Lee's Films, Is Dead

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Bill Lee, a jazz bassist and composer who scored the early films of his son Spike Lee, wrote folk-jazz operas, led an acclaimed ensemble of bassists and was a prolific sideman for Bob Dylan, Aretha Franklin and others, died on Wednesday morning at his home in Brooklyn. He was 94.

Spike Lee confirmed the death.

Over six decades, in thousands of live performances and on more than 250 record albums, Mr. Lee's mellow and ebullient string bass accompanied a pantheon of music stars, including as well Duke Ellington, Arlo Guthrie, Odetta, Simon and Garfunkel, Harry Belafonte, Ian & Sylvia, Judy Collins, Tom Paxton and Peter, Paul and Mary.

Mr. Lee wrote the soundtracks for Spike Lee's first four feature films, a musical challenge that called for capturing the independence of a romantic Black woman in "She's Gotta Have It" (1986), a satirical look at life at a Black college in "School Daze" (1988), racial violence in "Do the Right Thing" (1989) and the poignant hardships of a Black jazz musician in "Mo' Better Blues" (1990).

Bill Lee had small parts in all but "Do the Right Thing," and Spike Lee's sister, Joie, had roles in all four. Bill Lee also scored an early Spike Lee short, "Joe's Bed-Stuy Barbershop: We Cut Heads," the first student film to be showcased at Lincoln Center's New Directors/New Films Festival, in 1983.

The feature films won largely positive reviews and reaped sizable profits. Bill and Spike Lee had a falling-out in the early 1990s, over family matters, money and other issues, that ended their collaboration. Later Spike Lee films — he has directed more than 30, appearing in many of them himself — were scored by the trumpeter Terence Blanchard.

Born into an Alabama family of musicians and educators who instilled a passion for music in him and his siblings, Bill Lee learned drums, piano and flute early on. He attended segregated small-town public schools and studied music at historically Black Morehouse College in Atlanta.

Inspired in his early 20s by listening to the great jazz saxophonist Charlie Parker, Mr. Lee mastered the double bass, the largest and lowest-pitched stringed instrument, and performed with small jazz groups in Atlanta and Chicago before migrating to New York City in 1959.

Over the next decade, Mr. Lee, who favored a battered straw hat and often recited his own poetry between numbers, performed often in piano-bass duos and piano-bass-drums trios in smoky clubs that served soul food with jazz, many on the western edge of Greenwich Village, squeezed among meatpacking houses and trucking depots on Manhattan's Hudson River shoreline.

JIMI CELESTE/PATRICK McMULLAN, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Spike and Bill Lee in 2009 at a 20th-anniversary screening of "Do the Right Thing." Bill Lee composed the soundtrack.

He recorded extensively on Strata-East Records, a musician-owned label, and founded and directed the New York Bass Violin Choir, a troupe of seven basses, sometimes accompanied by piano or saxophone. Critics lauded the ensemble for weaving an agile harmony of pastel and harsh moods in performing Mr. Lee's folk operas at Town Hall, Alice Tully Hall at Lincoln Center and the Newport Jazz Festival.

He accompanied stars like Duke Ellington, Simon and Garfunkel, and Harry Belafonte.

His numerous operas, including "One Mile East," "The Depot" and "Baby Sweets," were based on people and events from his early life in the South. They sometimes drew on the singing talents of Mr. Lee and his two sisters, Consuela Lee Moorehead, a jazz pianist and music teacher at Hampton University in Virginia, and Grace Lee Mims, a librarian, whose voices lent grandiloquent color to the tales.

In a review of a performance by the Violin Choir at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1971, John S. Wilson of The New York Times wrote: "Mr. Lee served as bassist, singer and narrator of his sketches of small-town life in Snow Hill, Ala., building both his stories and his music from a rich vein of folk sources. His team of bassists, bending over their unwieldy instruments, produced ensemble passages that were by turns gorgeously warm and singing or so surprisingly light and airy that one suspected a couple of flutes might be hiding among them."

In the 1970s, when the electric bass became an instrument of choice in many jazz ensembles because its thumping tones suited the commercial sounds of jazz-rock fusion, Mr. Lee, an acoustic bass purist, refused to go along and lost work as a result. "Some things you just can't live with," he told The Boston Globe in 1992. "Just thinking about doing it, my gut reaction hit me so hard in the stomach. I knew I could never live with myself."

Spike Lee explored the problem of commercialism, with its racial implications, in "Mo' Better Blues," which starred Denzel Washington as a jazz trumpeter who fights exploitation by white club owners.

"Musicians are low-priced slaves, whereas athletes and entertainers are high-priced slaves," Spike Lee told The Times when the film opened. "It's their music, but it's not their nightclub, it's not their record company. They have an understanding only of the music, not of the business, so they get treated any old way."

Despite other differences, Bill and Spike Lee agreed about integrity. "Everything I know about jazz I got from my father," Spike Lee told The Times in 1990. "I saw his integrity, how he was not going to play just any kind of music, no matter how much money he could make."

William James Edwards Lee was born in Snow Hill on July 23, 1928, to Arnold Lee, a cornet player and band director at Florida A&M University, and Alberta Grace (Edwards) Lee, a classical concert pianist and teacher. In addition to his sisters Consuela and Grace, he had four other siblings, Clifton, Arnold Jr., Leonard and Clarence.

Their maternal grandfather, William J. Edwards, a graduate of Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, founded a log-cabin arts school for Black students in Snow Hill in 1893. By 1918, the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute had 24 buildings and 300 to 400 students pursuing academic subjects and vocational training. Mr. Edwards died a few years later, but the institute survived as a segregated public school until 1973, when it closed. Bill Lee graduated from there in the mid-1940s.

Mr. Lee and his first wife, Jacquelyn (Shelton) Lee, an art teacher, had five children: Shelton (Spike), Christopher, David, Joie and Cinque. After Jacquelyn's death in 1976, Mr. Lee married Susan Kaplan. They had one son, Arnold. Christopher died in 2013. Mr. Lee's sister Consuela died at 83 in 2009.

DAVID LEE

Mr. Lee in an undated portrait taken by his son David Lee, a photographer.

LARRY C. MORRIS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Lee, right, on bass, in New York in 1960 with the saxophonist John Handy's quartet. Don Friedman was on piano and Joe Hunt was on drums. Mr. Lee worked on more than 250 albums.

In addition to Spike Lee, he is survived by his wife; his sons David, Cinque and Arnold; his daughter, Joie; a brother, A. Clifton Lee; and two grandchildren.

After arriving in New York, Mr. Lee settled in Fort Greene, a Brooklyn neighborhood that became a magnet for Black musicians and other creative artists who took pride in their lifestyles and their art. The neighborhood was the setting for "She's Gotta Have It."

The Lee household, overlooking Fort Greene Park, all but banished television but was awash in music, often with jam sessions that went late into the night, prompting noise complaints from neighbors but spawning jazz artists who found their sounds in the heart of Brooklyn.

During a 2008 interview with The Times at his home, Mr. Lee played piano and double bass. "His music has the complex harmonies of bebop and hard bop, but it also has a sincere, down-home, churchy feel," the reporter Corey Kilgannon wrote. "His passages move in interesting and unexpected places, but they resolve before long in a way that is simple and sincere, earthy and somehow very satisfying."

Deaths

Biderman, Burt
Brownstein, Harriet
Brown, Tracy
Condon, Raymond
Davis, Florence
Eisen, Elizabeth
Holbrook, David
Rubin, Myrna
Staniford, Elizabeth

BIDERMAN—Burt.
Our brother, brother-in-law, uncle and great-uncle taken far too soon. Burt's quick wit and friendliness endeared him to so many. His love of family, and more recently his devotion to Judaism, were the pillars of his life. Burt's passing leaves a hole in our lives as well as in our hearts.
Mark, Wendy, Robin, Eric, Stephanie, Terry, Jason, Samantha, and Alexa

BIDERMAN—Burt.
Congregation Or Zarua mourns the death of our member, Burt Biderman. May the One who consoles the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem bring comfort to his family.
Scott N. Bolton, Rabbi; Isaac Nagiel, President

BIDERMAN—Burt.
The Koplik, Vogel and Griffin families are deeply saddened by the passing of our dear cousin Burt. Z"L

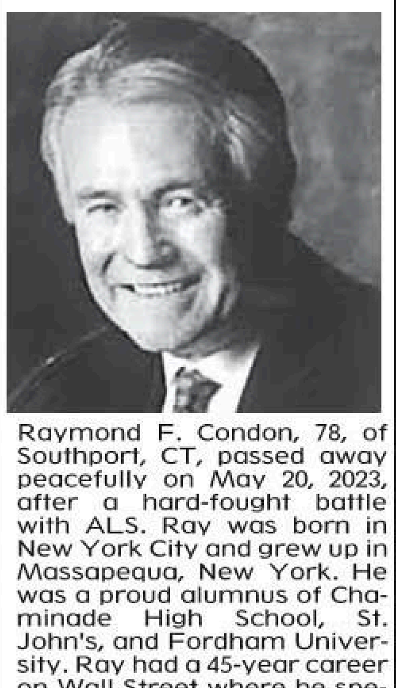
BIDERMAN—Burt,
Passed away peacefully after a brief illness at age 80. Lifelong and consummate New Yorker. Umbrella manufacturer and pioneer. Father to Rebecca and Lee Miller and Philip and Kim Biderman. Beloved Grandpa to David, Benji, Cameron and Andrew. Member of Congregation Or Zarua- a community he cherished and former President of the Fire Island Synagogue. Donations in his memory welcome to Congregation Or Zarua and the Fire Island Synagogue.

BROWNSTEIN—Harriet,
102 years young. Loved, respected, and admired by all who knew her. Predeceased by Bernard Brownstein, her cherished husband of forty years. Adored mother of Lynn Halbfinger (Marty) and June Gottlieb (Jerry). Beloved grandmother of Steven Gottlieb, Melissa Gottlieb, Bonnie Halbfinger and Caroline Halbfinger. Loving aunt of Joan Derwin and Gail Paley (Alan) and their children. With her natural wit and great judgement, Harriet was an extraordinary woman who will be missed.

BROWN—Tracy.
The board of trustees and the staff of The Joyce Theater mourn the sudden passing of Vice Chair Tracy Brown, who served the organization since 2020 with enthusiasm, dedication, and tremendous warmth. Her passion for the art of dance and her support of The Joyce's programs built strong relationships with the board and staff. Tracy contributed to many of The Joyce's recent initiatives, particularly advocating for future opportunities for the organization. Her intelligence, wit, and generous spirit will be greatly missed by all. We extend our sincerest condolences to Tracy's family and loved ones during this difficult time.
Amit Wadhwaney
Board Chair
Linda Shelton,
Executive Director

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:
Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday.

CONDON—Raymond F.



Raymond F. Condon, 78, of Southport, CT, passed away peacefully on May 20, 2023, after a hard-fought battle with ALS. Ray was born in New York City and grew up in Massapequa, New York. He was a proud alumnus of Chaminade High School, St. John's, and Fordham University. Ray had a 45-year career on Wall Street where he specialized in convertible and high yield securities, most recently at Shenkman Capital Management where he worked for 18 years as Principal, Senior Vice President and Portfolio Manager. Ray had a lifelong love of sports — particularly Rugby. After joining the New York Athletic Club in 1971, he joined the newly formed rugby team in 1973 and played for over 30 years. He served as Captain, Chairman, and Coach and was elected to the NYAC Rugby Hall of Fame. Ray served on the boards of the Bridgeport Hospital Foundation and Caroline House, a center for disadvantaged women and their children in Bridgeport. Ray is survived by his wife Claire; his daughter, Caitlin; his two sisters, Patricia and Penny; his three brothers, Tom, Jack, Owen; and his ten nieces and nephews. A visitation will be held at Frank E. Campbell The Funeral Chapel on Friday, May 26 from 3-5pm and 7-9pm. A Funeral Mass will be held at Church of Our Savior on Saturday at 10am with a burial following at St. Charles Cemetery in Farmingdale, L.I.

DAVIS—Florence Ann,
68. Beloved mother, grandmother, daughter, sister, colleague, friend, and much more, died at home on May 21, following a battle with ovarian cancer. From 1999 until her death, Florence served as president of The Starr Foundation, one of the largest private foundations in the country - a role in which she came to know and love much of the world, but especially New York City, her home. Raised in Pittsburgh, PA, Florence graduated from Wellesley College in 1976 with highest honors, a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1979, she earned a law degree from New York University School of Law, where she was a Root-Tilden Scholar. She practiced law at Sullivan & Cromwell before moving to Morgan Stanley, where she became a Principal and Director of Worldwide Regulatory Affairs. In 1995, at scarcely 40 years old, with two young children, Florence became Vice President and General Counsel of American International Group, Inc., a role she held for four years. She made it look easy - or, at the very least, she made it look possible. Florence was a role model for many people, particularly young mothers working in male-dominated industries. She was deeply engaged with innumerable charitable organizations and educational institutions, including as a trustee of New York University and its law school; a trustee of the New York Botanical Garden; and with the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Rescue Committee, and the Newman's Own Foundation. (We are hopeful that in the afterlife she will once again get to sit next to Paul Newman on a plane.) She loved gardening, Cape Cod, gimmicky tchotchkes, the salty ends of roasted meat, puzzles and word games, the Science Times, nature shows, and entertaining other peoples' babies on mass transit. She was tough, she was kind; she was an incredible mother. Anyone wishing to make contributions in Florence's memory may consider any of the charities in which she was involved, but her family would like to give special mention to the New York Botanical Garden and the Louisiana Parole Project. She is survived by two daughters, Rebecca and Sarah Davis O'Brien; her mother Charlotte Davis McGhee; her stepfather Richard McGhee Jr.; her sister Netta Davis; her brother Barnett Davis III; her granddaughter Dusty Davis Orwall; and many cousins, stepchildren and step-grandchildren. She was predeceased by her father, Richard Max Davis, and her second husband, Anthony Gooch.

DAVIS—Florence.
The Board of Trustees, residents, and staff of The Hebrew Home at Riverdale deeply mourn the passing of Florence Davis. Florence had long served as a senior philanthropic advisor and trusted confidant to Maurice R. (Hank) Greenberg, our very dear friend and supporter. As President of the Starr Foundation, Florence deployed life - changing philanthropy around the world and in support of older adults at The Hebrew Home, helping us further our mission. Her advocacy, wise counsel, and true professionalism set the gold standard of authentic philanthropic partnership. We extend our sincere condolences to Florence's family and friends, and all of her colleagues at the Starr Foundation and the CV Starr Companies. May her memory be a blessing.
Daniel Reingold,
President and CEO

DAVIS—Florence.
The trustees, alumni, faculty, and administrators of NYU School of Law mourn the death of our dear friend, Florence Davis. A renowned attorney and philanthropist who earned her JD from NYU as a Root-Tilden Scholar, Florence generously supported numerous student scholarships at NYU Law, and served as a trustee and vice chair of the Law Center Foundation. We remember her fondly as a warm and loving friend and dedicated partner in our work. She will be greatly missed. We extend our sympathies to Florence's family and many loved ones.
Troy McKenzie, Dean;
David Tanner,
Chair of the Board.

EISEN—Elizabeth Hope.

Elizabeth Hope Eisen, known to her friends and family as Liz, passed away on March 15, 2023 after a long and courageous battle with ovarian cancer. Liz was born on May 25, 1954 in Great Neck, New York to Charles and Sylvia Eisen. She is survived by her twins, Sam and Natalie Dworkin, as well as her stepchildren, Max and Rachel Dworkin. After graduating with honors from the College of Arts and Sciences at Boston University in 1976, Liz moved to New York City and began a successful career in banking, ultimately retiring early from JP Morgan Chase due to a hip injury. She then found her passion in jewelry making. Liz had a love for swimming, collecting art, and traveling, with Paris being her favorite destination. She was also a massive dog lover and had a special place in her heart for poodles. Liz was an exceptional woman. She will be deeply missed and remembered for her strength, intelligence, and incredible generosity. Her selflessness touched the lives of many people and will leave a lasting impact on those who knew her. A memorial will be hosted by her family in the near future, with details to be announced at a later date. In lieu of flowers, the family asks that donations in her honor be made to Doctors Without Borders, an organization that Liz deeply admired and supported. Liz's loved ones extend their heartfelt thanks to all those who have offered condolences and support during this difficult time.

HOLBROOK—David D.
The board of trustees and staff of The Joyce Theater mourn the passing of Chair Emeritus David D. Holbrook, who served the organization for 29 years (1994-2023) with wisdom, dedication, and generosity. David was a passionate advocate for the performing arts community, especially theater and dance. David led The Joyce as its board chair from 1996-2004, including securing the purchase of Joyce SoHo, a performance and incubator space that served as a launching point for many of today's celebrated dance artists. His guidance, humor, and kindness will be deeply missed by all. We extend our deepest condolences to his wife Andrea, their family, and loved ones.
Amit Wadhwaney
Board Chair
Linda Shelton,
Executive Director

RUBIN—Myrna Leventhal.
Her loving family and friends mourn the passing on May 22 of Myrna Rubin, loving mother, grandmother and wife, as well as a dear friend to many. Myrna retired as deputy director of the Creedmoor Psychiatric Center in Queens after a long career working to improve care within the New York State psychiatric system. She also served as admissions director of the New York University Silver School of Social Work. Myrna graduated with a B.A. from Brooklyn College and received her Master's in Social Work degree from the Wurzweiler School of Social Work at Yeshiva University. She also worked at the Bronx Psychiatric Center and Harlem Valley State Hospital. Myrna was a passionate lover of books and culture, a voracious reader, theatergoer, concertgoer and world traveler. She instilled her passion for ideas and travel in her children and grandchildren. Myrna married Bob Rubin, a pioneering television producer, in 1955. They were together until his death in 2018. Myrna loved Tanglewood and the Berkshires and was a dedicated fan of Pete Seeger and American folk music her whole life. She marched with Dr. King in the March on Washington in 1963 and worked for fair housing with the National Urban League. She is survived by her sons Eric and Jonathan Rubin, her daughters-in-law Nicole Simmons and Jamie Seidner, her sister Susan Kaufman and her grandchildren Caitlin, Andrew, Rachel and Liana Rubin. Myrna's legacy lives on in her love for her family and friends and her dedication to helping others. In lieu of flowers, please send donations to the Alzheimer's Drug Discovery Foundation, www.alzdiscovery.org

STANIFORD—Elizabeth Haneman,
died on Sunday, May 21 in Tampa, FL. She was 77. Lee was the daughter of William Floyd Haneman and Elizabeth Breed Haneman. She attended Lawrence Country Day School, Miss Porters School and Bennett College. She worked in the furniture and lighting business for many years. She was an avid naturalist. She married Foye Staniford in 2014. She is survived by her sister-in-law, Nancy Haneman, her devoted nieces Patricia Haneman Cox and Nicolle Haneman Keally, Sonny's wonderful children and many devoted friends. In lieu of flowers, please make contributions to Miss Porters School or the Central Park Conservancy in her memory. There will be a celebration of her life on Sunday, June 4 at noon at the Cedarhurst Yacht Club.

In Memoriam

KAYE—Peter B,
12/9/1955-5/25/2014
Nine years without you. You are always in my heart and mind.
Mary

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Opinion

The New York Times

COLUMNIST | NICHOLAS KRISTOF

On the Front Line of an Education Revolution

MAKENI, SIERRA LEONE

ANY EXASPERATED PARENT might be forgiven for wanting a daughter like Alimatu Sesay, a highly motivated 16-year-old who can't afford schoolbooks but borrows them from wealthier classmates and studies the texts outside every night with a flashlight because her tiny home is crowded and has no electricity.

Alimatu is one of seven children, her dad died years ago, her mom is illiterate and she herself sometimes must go without eating all day when money is tight. But she is a brilliant student on a path to fulfill her dream of becoming a lawyer because of an education revolution underway here in Sierra Leone. (And when she becomes a lawyer, she says, she's going to buy her mom a house.)

In 2018, the government here banned school fees, which had kept Alimatu's parents and millions of other people from attending any school at all. The authorities have also outlawed corporal punishment in schools and ramped up investment in education, with more than 20 percent of the national budget allocated to teacher pay, school renovation and other education expenses. The result has been a 50 percent increase in enrollment and also an apparent improvement in the quality of education, with impoverished children benefiting the most.

Sierra Leone may offer a model for how even a very poor country, still recovering from an Ebola outbreak in 2014-16 that followed a particularly brutal 11-year civil war, can by sheer determination and leadership make schooling more equal. The United States and other countries could learn a thing or two in the ramshackle schools of Sierra Leone.

Yet Sierra Leone's grand experiment in promising "free quality school" is also maddeningly incomplete.

Alongside a rural road in northern Sierra Leone, I spotted several children doing farm work on a school day. I chatted with them, and it appeared that one reason they skip school is that they are regularly caned on the behind in front of the class for failing to pay the fees.

Caned? For failing to pay school fees in the public school system? Isn't that all illegal?

Issa, 16, shrugged. "I'm afraid to tell the teacher it's illegal," he said. "I'd be thrown out of school."

I'm on my annual win-a-trip journey, on which I take a student — this year it's Maddie Bender, a recent graduate of Yale — to look at global problems and fixes. Education has been a focus this time, for some 60 million children worldwide should be in primary school but aren't, and even more miss high school.

Sierra Leone is tackling educational problems in ways that are bold and promising, but the pronouncements in the capital haven't reached Issa's village. A school official will come to the classroom, he said, call the children who are behind on fees to come forward and whip each of them in front of the entire class with six strokes of a stick.

Of the 52 students in his class, 24 or 25 are beaten each week for being behind, he said, girls and boys alike. "Some kids cry," he said, adding, "The beating is to make them persuade their parents to pay the school fees."

Issa's younger brother, a primary school student, said he too was beaten regularly for not having money for school fees. Of the 35 students in his class, about 15 are routinely whipped for being late in paying, he said.

MALIN FEZEHAI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alimatu Sesay, 16, plans to become a lawyer.

Next I visited that boy's primary school, where officials denied they charged school fees or beat pupils. The denials were unconvincing, partly because each teacher had a cane on the desk. (Stay tuned for a Times Opinion video about Sierra Leone's education revolution, which will include footage of these officials trying to explain away the unexplainable.)

At Issa's high school, I ran into the same implausible denials undermined by more canes in plain sight. I talked my way into the administrative office and was allowed to examine a register that the children had told me was used to determine who would be flogged. Sure enough: The book listed each child and whether he or she had paid fees of a bit more than $3 a term.

In my conversations with perhaps a dozen teachers, a couple did admit in a roundabout way to charging students, presenting it as the only way to pay staff when government funding is grossly inadequate.

Over several days of interviews in a half-dozen randomly chosen villages, almost all the children and parents I spoke to said that they were subjected to some kind of fee: school fees, book fees, lunch fees or admission fees. At nearly every rural school, students said they were flogged for falling short on fees.

Sierra Leone is trying to make schooling more equal, but progress is mixed.

My heart broke for a girl, Adamasay, 13, whose mother died this school year. As a result, she can't pay the fees — so she is flogged in front of the class, five strokes each time on the behind.

I sat down with Sierra Leone's president, Julius Maada Bio, the architect of the education program, to ask about what I had seen. He looked pained — but didn't deny it. "Flogged for being poor," he lamented. He emphasized that change takes time and that the government is committed to ending these abuses.

A pivotal figure in Sierra Leone's revolution in the schools is Moinina David Sengeh, 36, the dynamic minister of education, who attended Harvard as an undergraduate and then earned a Ph.D. from the M.I.T. Media Lab while working in biomechatronics, the field where human bodies integrate with machines. Sengeh holds several patents in data science and in prosthetics; in his spare time, he helps designs sockets for prosthetic limbs.

Sengeh was working for IBM Research when President Bio summoned him home in 2018 to become the country's chief innovation officer and then minister of education. Sengeh has just published a book, "Radical Inclusion," that has been lavishly praised by Bill Gates as a "must-read," and he brings star power and attention to Sierra Leone's efforts.

Yet history is full of failed attempts to improve access to education in poor countries; it's easy to ban fees, but harder for the government to find new ways to pay for the public school system. Some African countries moved earlier to end fees, beginning with Ghana in 1961, and the result was an expansion in enrollment — and often a decline in quality, as schools lost revenue but had more students to teach.

Quality of education remains a huge problem worldwide. The World Bank estimates that 70 percent of 10-year-olds in poor and middle-income countries can't read a simple text. In Nigeria, three-quarters of children age 7 to 14 can't read a simple sentence.

Sierra Leone is trying to break out of that trap with investments in more and better teachers who earn more, along with careful research and improved methods and accountability. To me, one of the most important initiatives in Sierra Leone is a series of randomized controlled trials that test different approaches to schooling. We may learn something here that can help improve education around the world.

Meanwhile, Alimatu is thriving in school but has just one school uniform, two years old, that must last one more year until she graduates. Her only pair of socks is the one that came with her uniform, and she has never lost a sock — because that would mean an incomplete uniform and exclusion from school.

We should all have children like Alimatu who never lose a sock — and who have a path forward to achieve their dreams. I hope the education revolution here in Sierra Leone will live up to its promise and prove contagious abroad, giving children like Alimatu in all countries the opportunity to get an education to transform their lives and their nations.

All Americans Have the Right to Dress as They Wish

Kate Redburn
A legal historian and an academic fellow at Columbia Law School.

TRANSGENDER Americans are under attack. Across the country, Republicans have introduced an avalanche of legislation to restrict access to gender-affirming health care, censor how gender is discussed in schools, prevent trans people from using public bathrooms and even ban drag shows and cross-dressing onstage. In March, Tennessee criminalized drag performances where children are present. In April, Montana Republicans barred Representative Zooey Zephyr from the floor of the state House in part for her vocal opposition to a similar bill, which is now headed to the governor's desk.

Attacks on gender nonconformity — and cross-dressing in particular — have a long history in America. Anti-drag laws similar to the one passed in Tennessee and even more restrictive cross-dressing bans were part of municipal criminal codes for most of the 20th century. But just as the laws aren't new, neither is the fight against them. Over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, gender nonconforming activists argued that sartorial censorship harms anyone who deviates from rigid gender norms. These activists won in court. Looking back on their victories can inspire trans people and their allies today, not just by highlighting effective legal strategies but also by reminding us that state-mandated gender conformity is an affront to everyone's right of self-expression.

Legal attacks on gender expression like those being passed today in Florida, Iowa, Montana and elsewhere have disturbing similarities to those that were on the books throughout most of the 20th century: Then, cities across the country criminalized appearing in public "in a dress not belonging to his or her sex." Others prohibited "female impersonators" or "masquerade." These laws were routinely used to harass and discredit anyone who transgressed gender norms, including feminists who wore men's clothes to protest gender inequality, sex workers signaling that they were available to be engaged, drag performers, cross-dressers and people who today might identify as transgender. Arrests could have major consequences. Many people arrested under these ordinances lost their jobs and families.

Others endured violence and humiliation from the police. Toni Mayes, a trans woman in Houston, did everything she could think of to avoid running afoul of a law banning cross-dressing "with intent to disguise" in the mid-1970s. She went so far as to ask the City Council and the police department for ID cards to protect trans people from these arrests. When they refused, Ms. Mayes began wearing a sign that read "My body is male" to avoid the appearance of hiding her identity. The police proceeded to arrest her eight times in three years anyway. At one point she spent nine hours in a men's jail.

"I felt terrible," she later told a reporter. "I had my wig torn off and there were a lot of remarks I didn't care for." The publicity meant that she was "immediately recognized everywhere, can't get a job, and has no income." She resolved to bring a constitutional challenge to the Houston ordinance so that other people could avoid the same harassment.

Ms. Mayes was not alone. Defendants had long challenged their arrests under these laws, but in the late 1960s and 1970s, a network of gender-nonconforming activists began to win constitutional claims. These lawsuits helped solidify a growing political and social network of people who transgressed gender norms — "gender outlaws," to use the author Kate Bornstein's evocative phrase — some of whom identified as transvestites, street queens or transsexuals. Gender outlaws helped defeat similar ordinances in at least 16 cities by the end of the 1980s, according to my research.

Some litigants argued that cross-dressing bans were unconstitutionally vague. Lawyers even brought fashion writers into court to testify that it was impossible to determine, for instance, the gender of a pair of shoes. In the words of one judge: "What distinguishes the male high-heeled shoe from the female? Is it the thickness of the heel or the sole, the design of the toe, the contour of the instep or just what?" Other litigants suggested that gender nonconformity deserved constitutional protection in its own right. When two trans women were arrested in Chicago, for example, they successfully argued that the law violated their constitutional right to dress as they pleased, based on the guarantee of free expression in the First and 14th Amendments.

These victories linked transgender rights to the broader idea that the Constitution protects gender nonconformity in general. They reminded courts that all people have an equal right to choose how they present in public, including in their choice of clothing and hairstyle. They include transgender people, certainly, but also people who perform drag or enjoy a range of fashions or reject norms of masculine or feminine presentation for whatever reason. In other words, the virtue of these lawsuits was that they both advanced transgender rights *and* protected a key realm of self-expression for others.

We would do well to remember this history as we confront the anti-trans political machine. Now, as then, drag bans are susceptible to constitutional challenges for vagueness and suppressing free expression.

Laws requiring gender conformity reduce freedoms for everyone, not just trans people.

Indeed, a drag theater group in Memphis has already raised a First Amendment challenge to Tennessee's law, winning a temporary restraining order in a federal court. Other bills will be vulnerable to similar arguments.

It may be tempting to see drag bans as a relatively minor sideshow in the broader attack on transgender people. After all, the real goal seems to be eliminating transgender people of all ages. According to the reporter and activist Erin Reed, 16 states now prohibit trans youth from getting access to best-practice medicine. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida recently began compiling a list of college students who have sought treatment for gender dysphoria; on May 17, he signed a set of laws drastically restricting trans people's access to health care. A leading conservative activist told The New York Times that his organization intends to outlaw gender-affirming health care for all trans people, including adults, but has focused on children because of "consensus" that it is "a political winner."

That strategy thrives where people who are not transgender believe that attacks on trans people do not affect them. But this argument is exactly backward. Whether we are transgender or cisgender, we are all harmed by state-mandated gender norms. Much like those of the 1970s, today's fashions crisscross the gender binary, from luxury brands to athleisure. Gender play through clothing — whether someone is trying out traditionally masculine or feminine styles or selecting gender-neutral options — is more popular than ever. Drag bans strike at this fundamental freedom to express our gender through personal appearance and performance, regardless of our sex assigned at birth. History serves as a powerful reminder that trans civil rights strengthen freedom of personal expression for all.

MARK PETERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

COLUMNIST | CHARLES M. BLOW

A Flood of Unprepared Presidential Hopefuls

ON WEDNESDAY, the charmless and awkward Ron DeSantis entered the presidential race. In 2024 Republican primary polling, he consistently comes in second to Donald Trump. He has built his legend on an easy re-election as Florida's governor and an easy route by which he enacted a slate of bullying and regressive "anti-woke" legislation, thanks to Republicans' supermajorities in Florida's Legislature.

He brandishes his record as evidence of his effectiveness, but all he's done is win a series of fights in which his opponents had their hands tied by being in the minority.

Yet many Republican commentators and donors, who've been desperate to move on from the toxicity of Trump, landed on DeSantis when casting about for alternatives. They inflated his ego, convincing him his big-footing in Florida made him formidable.

He appears to be banking on Trump fatigue, or maybe Trump's legal problems piling so high that even the former president's most ardent supporters come to the conclusion that he is too encumbered to prevail. If he can't outpace Trump, he'll lie in wait to catch him limping.

He's not alone in that lane. The candidates (or potential candidates) Mike Pence, Asa Hutchinson and Chris Sununu — all current or former governors — occupy the same lane. They are the in-case-of-emergency-break-glass cohort: If Trump winds up on the path to prison and Republicans must scrounge for a last-minute replacement, they're hoping voters see them as solid substitutes.

They're positioned as candidates who can deliver on Republican policy priorities without Trump's baggage and Trump's drama — but Trump's drama is the thing that many of his supporters are addicted to. The policies are welded to the persona.

Trump allows his supporters to feel and express their full range of emotion: He entertains them; he channels their rage; he reflects their oppressive urges; he's an oracle of their self-perceived victimhood and their model of a warrior against a government and culture that they feel are turning on them.

Trumpism is a whole-self experience, spiritual in its depth, so Trumpism without Trump would be akin to preaching Christianity without Christ.

And then there's Republicans' other lane, in which racial absolution without racial repentance is offered. It's occupied by candidates of color who advance some version of this simplistic and opaque absolution: "America is not a racist country."

Let me be clear: Is every person in America racist? No. Is race the superseding consideration and determinant for all negative outcomes for people of color? No. But was racism a foundational principle of our country?

If they can't outpace Trump, his G.O.P. rivals will lie in wait to catch him limping.

Does racism still permeate American society and its institutions? Yes.

And racism abhors its own name; it hates to be called what it is.

In recent election cycles, Republicans have embraced candidates who provided a version of that message — Herman Cain in 2012, Ben Carson in 2016 — even as their party has been rightly condemned for its tan-suit-faux-scandal-level anti-Barack Obama obsession, which was consistently colored by race.

And now they have two candidates who've used those exact words: When she began her candidacy in February, Nikki Haley said, "Take it from me, the first minority female governor in history: America is not a racist country." And when he announced his candidacy on Monday, Tim Scott — whom she appointed to his Senate seat — repeated a line he delivered in a 2021 speech: "America is not a racist country."

Scott's policy positions — which straddle the Republican MAGA wing and the party's limping Jack Kemp wing — are not his selling point. He sells a narrative, however distorted — a frozen smile for a fanatical party.

Haley is also in this lane.

She and Scott are using their own personal and political successes, not as exceptional examples of clearing hurdles, but to argue the height of the hurdles and to question the will of other runners.

They, too, are probably waiting for legal lightning to strike, for Trump to become politically incapacitated and the Republican primary field to be thrown wide open.

But Trump will fight to the last breath, maybe not because he wants to be president again, but because he wants to hedge against becoming a prisoner.

All the Republican challengers are governed by ambition, but Trump is now governed by a more powerful force: panic.

Yes, if he is elected again, he will get to claim that in the end he bested Biden. But he's also aware that if he regains the presidency, he regains the power to blunt pending federal investigations swirling around him and to force a crisis over any state criminal proceedings, like one that may materialize in Georgia.

He wants to complicate any potential prosecutions by arousing the anger of his followers, giving rule-of-law-following institutionalists pause about the consequences of penalizing a president. Trump has shown that he has no qualms about breaking the country to save himself, that patriotism is a distant second to self-preservation.

Trump has spent his life swaddled in creature comforts, gilded and gauche as they may be. He's bent the rules so often that he seems to have forgotten that the legal system has a gravity that few can escape forever.

Now, with the prospect of being shamed and maybe even shackled, he's going to spare nothing in his quest to clear the Republican field — and none of his opponents look as though they're ready for it.

If you thought the last two election cycles were ugly, strap up: This one will likely be worse. All creatures are most ferocious when backed into a corner.

COLUMNIST | GAIL COLLINS

No Time Like the Present, Senator Feinstein

DIANNE FEINSTEIN is giving old age a bad name.

Of course, it's painful to see Feinstein, who's served in the Senate for more than 30 years, suffering from what commentators delicately call diminished mental capacity. She's 89, in poor health and having trouble getting to work even when she's really needed.

Feinstein has already announced she won't run for re-election next year, but it's time for her to set a good example and retire immediately. The country shouldn't discriminate against older workers, and older workers shouldn't insist on staying in jobs they can no longer really carry out.

"I haven't been gone. I've been here," she crankily and inaccurately told a reporter who tried to question her when she returned to the Capitol in a wheelchair.

The Judiciary Committee is at the core of this drama. The Democrats have a majority of exactly one. If Feinstein isn't there, the Biden administration can't get many judicial nominations through.

Which is delighting the Republicans, who are making no effort whatsoever to find a middle ground — like letting Feinstein take a leave from the committee with a temporary replacement. And Feinstein will not quit. So everything important involves trying to drag her in.

"She can vote, and she seems to understand what the votes are," a Democratic senator told me defensively.

Not the way to end a career! Remember how Ruth Bader Ginsburg's glorious reputation was clouded by her refusal to retire when she was dogged by a history of multiple cancers and Barack Obama could have appointed a replacement. When Donald Trump was in office, she vowed at 85 to be around "at least five more years," but obviously that didn't work out.

Very hard for younger people to comprehend the difficulty of the decision Feinstein is faced with, partly because they prefer not to imagine themselves in that situation. "When I'm 89 years old, I'll be long dead. Trust me," said Senator Jon Tester of Montana.

Tester is 66. Let's see how he feels when he's, say, 78. And meanwhile, thank him for a reminder that while he represents a state with 1.1 million people and Feinstein represents a state with 39 million, they have exactly the same Senate voting power.

Just always like to bring that up. But about age and politics . . . .

The Feinstein saga is promoting a growing ageism in some political quarters. Nikki Haley, a former governor of South Carolina and current presidential contender, has proposed a mental competency test for all candidates over 75. We are sure this has nothing to do with the fact that Haley, 51, is competing against Trump, 76, for the Republican nomination.

Hardly need to mention that President Biden is 80. Now that 44-year-old Ron DeSantis is in the running, you can bet you'll be hearing a lot from DeSantis supporters about age, even though their guy sometimes seems unable to get his youthful brain to remember a stump speech.

Feinstein's friends occasionally suggest calls for her resignation are simply sex discrimination. "I've never seen them go after a man who was sick in the Senate in that way," said Nancy Pelosi.

But some of those old guys did give us excellent examples of sticking around too long. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was still a senator when he was 100. In his later years he had trouble hearing, and — let's talk about people being unwilling to admit their age — he refused to use a hearing aid. After debates, his aides would just tell him how to vote.

"He neither smoked nor drank, did more push-ups and situps than many men decades younger and fathered children into his mid-70s," said The Times in Thurmond's 2003 obituary. "He was also known for fondling women in Senate elevators, including a woman who turned out to be a fellow senator, much to his surprise."

Would you want to end your story like that, people? Under a headline announcing "Foe of Integration Dies at 100"?

OK, nobody wants to live to be Strom Thurmond. But one of the messages of his career was that the absolute must-do demands on a senator are pretty low. Your staff will take care of the constituents, and while there are always plenty of important policy projects underway, the only really crucial part of your job is showing up to vote.

Feinstein's friends are hoping she can at least make that happen. But the uncertainty is sort of scary, giving the Republicans hope they can keep stalling Biden judicial nominations until after the next election.

Of course, since we're talking about the current state of Washington politics, there are always other chances of creative roadblocks. People like Hillary Clinton are arguing that if Feinstein leaves Judiciary, the Republicans will just find a way to avoid replacing her at all.

Remember how Ginsburg's reputation was clouded by her refusal to retire.

There's also the question of what Gov. Gavin Newsom would do about naming a short-term replacement. He's already said it would be a Black woman, and there's much talk about Oprah Winfrey, who'd certainly be more capable than a lot of folks already in the job.

To be decided. First, start planning a proper goodbye for Senator Feinstein, celebrating her many achievements on issues ranging from C.I.A. brutality to gun safety to the environment.

And if it happens now, we'll also remember that she showed us how it's possible, at 89, to have a vision for the future that doesn't involve just hanging on to the past.

LETTERS

Legalizing Weed: Was It a Harmful Mistake?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Call Me Square, but Facts Show the Error of Legalizing Weed," by Ross Douthat (column, May 19):

Those who desire to return to an era of cannabis criminalization desperately try to characterize state-level marijuana regulation as a "policy failure."

Public opinion and data do not support this opinion. Public support for legalization has never been higher. Further, none of the 22 states that have legalized adult recreational use have ever repealed or even rolled back their laws. This is evidence that these policies are working largely as intended.

Adolescent cannabis use has not risen in parallel with legalization, despite what many critics feared. According to a new C.D.C. report, the percentage of high schoolers who have ever tried marijuana fell 30 percent between 2011 and 2021.

Another study dismissed concerns that state-level legalization is adversely affecting mental health. Its authors "did not observe a statistically significant association of state cannabis policy level with overall rates of psychosis-related diagnoses or prescribed antipsychotics."

This is not to imply that cannabis is harmless or that it cannot be misused. However, such risks are best mitigated by regulation and public education, and they are only exacerbated by criminalization and stigmatization.

PAUL ARMENTANO
WASHINGTON

The writer is deputy director of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws.

TO THE EDITOR:

I was arrested in 1966 at the age of 18 for purchasing a $5 bag of marijuana, spent the night in jail and was released on $1,000 bail. My light skin color and the fact that my parents were able to hire a lawyer led to the eventual dropping of the charges and erasure of my arrest record.

Needless to say I am strongly in favor of the very long overdue legalization of marijuana. When I worked as a respiratory therapist, I bore witness to the ravages of cigarette smoking. I also bear witness to the ravages of alcohol addiction.

I hope Ross Douthat is aware of the absurdity of critiquing marijuana legalization without uttering one word about the dangers of these fully legal but far more toxic substances.

JEFF VOGEL, QUEENS

TO THE EDITOR:

Ross Douthat says naysayers on the legalization of weed are made into uncool squares. I am one of those uncool puritanical prohibitionists who was booed at a town meeting after imploring that "clearer heads should prevail."

This meeting lifted a ban on commercial sale of marijuana in a tiny Cape Cod town. Not only did we get a pot shop but also an indoor cultivation lab. I am hoping that someday our town will wake up, come back to its senses and shut down the pot shop.

KATHLEEN GEAGAN
BREWSTER, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

As a physician and cannabis specialist, I was mystified when I read Ross Douthat's description of the effects of cannabis use and legalization. Mr. Douthat's description of "a form of personal degradation, of lost attention and performance and motivation" is not what I have seen clinically, or personally. If anything, I have witnessed effects that are the exact opposite of what Mr. Douthat is describing.

While cannabis has some clear potential for harms if used by the wrong populations (e.g., teenagers, pregnant or breastfeeding women, and people with psychosis), it is widely and correctly perceived to be a safer alternative for millions of Americans than many of the more troublesome pharmaceuticals. Cannabis helps millions of people with pain, sleep problems, anxiety, spasms, boredom, nausea and anorexia, and, for many, it benefits their lifestyle and creativity.

When Mr. Douthat discusses recriminalizing cannabis, he callously dismisses the suffering of more than 20 million Americans, mostly with Black and brown skin, who have been needlessly arrested and saddled with criminal records for nonviolent cannabis possession over the last half century.

The stigma, poverty and dislocation that this has caused — and is still causing in places where cannabis prohibition has not been overturned — have been a far greater social disaster than any of the flaws of legalization that Mr. Douthat has highlighted, in a somewhat cherry-picked manner, to emphasize some legitimate shortcomings of legalization so far.

We certainly can, and must, do better with our patchwork process of cannabis legalization. But let us not idealize or glorify a past that is littered with racially disproportionate policing and persecution.

PETER GRINSPOON, BOSTON

The writer is an instructor at Harvard Medical School and the author of "Seeing Through the Smoke: A Cannabis Expert Untangles the Truth About Marijuana."

TO THE EDITOR:

Ross Douthat finds it convenient not to mention that legal marijuana sales have generated more than $15 billion in tax revenue through 2022. That figure shows that despite the persistence of a black market, millions of users prefer the convenience, safety, variety and legality of acquiring marijuana products through authorized channels.

RICHARD ROHER
WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR:

I agree that the legalization of marijuana was a mistake. As a nurse in behavioral health I see many patients admitted to hospitals because they substituted marijuana for their psychiatric medication. Often the use of marijuana will precede a psychotic episode.

I see the marijuana business as no different than the opioid business — growing stronger, more harmful strains to capture business.

LUCY BEATTY
OAK PARK, MICH.

TO THE EDITOR:

In my community, there have been many deaths related to fentanyl-laced marijuana bought on the street by teens and others. Legalized and regulated marijuana sales offer a safe alternative to street sales, and I am happy that this is an option in my state. It saves lives!

STEPHANIE MOTT
SOQUEL, CALIF.

Battling Over the Debt, as Default Looms

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Liberals Are Persuading Themselves of a Debt Ceiling Plan That Won't Work," by Ezra Klein (column, nytimes.com, May 21):

President Biden has no good options on the debt ceiling. Mr. Klein rightly points out the danger in going to a Supreme Court that "does what it wants to do." But with public trust in the court near 50-year lows, and with markets likely in turmoil ahead of a decision, some conservative justices would surely be tempted to ride in as white knights and save the day (as well as the court's reputation, not to mention their own investment portfolios).

Moreover, the Biden administration has other workarounds, like premium or consol bonds, that it could deploy in the event of an adverse ruling. Any of these beats a default.

Mr. Klein is again correct that Republicans are the ones "pulling the pin" on the debt ceiling grenade. But it's still Mr. Biden's responsibility to keep it from exploding.

ANDREW BARNET
MIDDLETOWN, MD.

TO THE EDITOR:

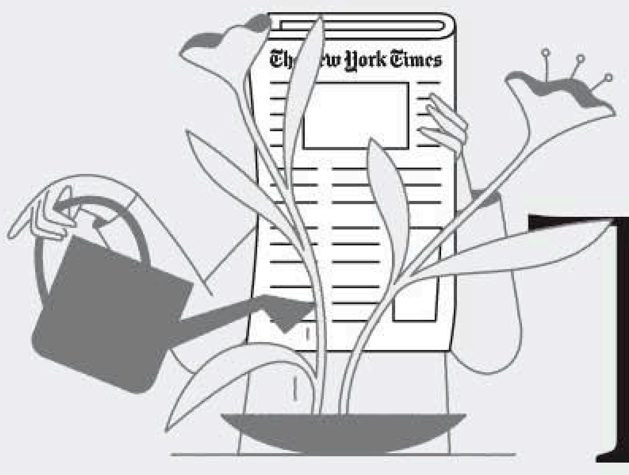
There are three serious flaws in the Republican argument about the national debt:

1) Budget deficits and the national debt seem to matter to them only when there is a Democrat in the White House.

2) Republicans want to cut spending for the poor, the sick and the elderly, but not make the rich and the big corporations pay one thin dime more in taxes.

3) Republicans seem willing to destroy the U.S. economy in order to save it.

ANTHONY J. DISTEFANO
AIKEN, S.C.



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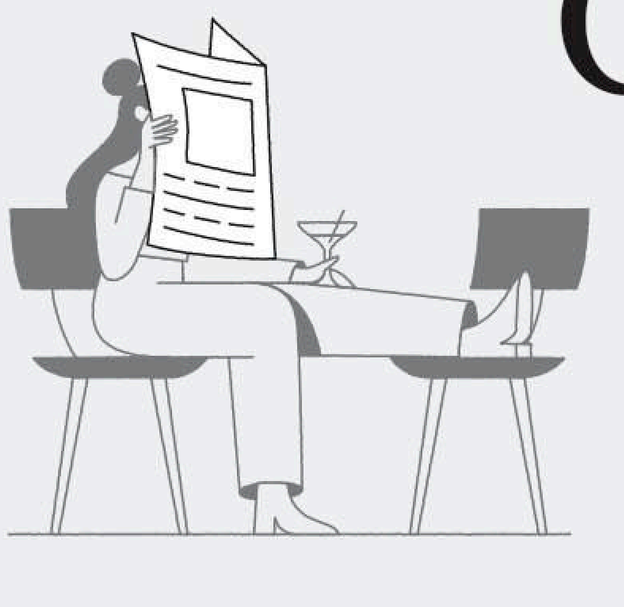

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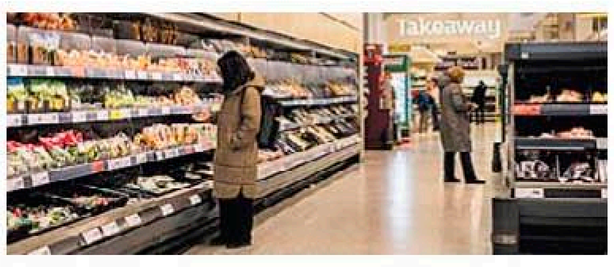
7 SOCIAL MEDIA
Despite the surgeon general's warning, researchers say online communities can be a 'lifeline' for L.G.B.T.Q. youth.



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Britain's inflation rate dropped to its lowest level in more than a year but remains stubbornly high.

8 SPORTS
After serving a suspension and battling injuries, Fernando Tatis Jr. is on a baseball redemption tour.

Business
The New York Times

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How TikTok Shares User Data, Alarming Even Its Employees

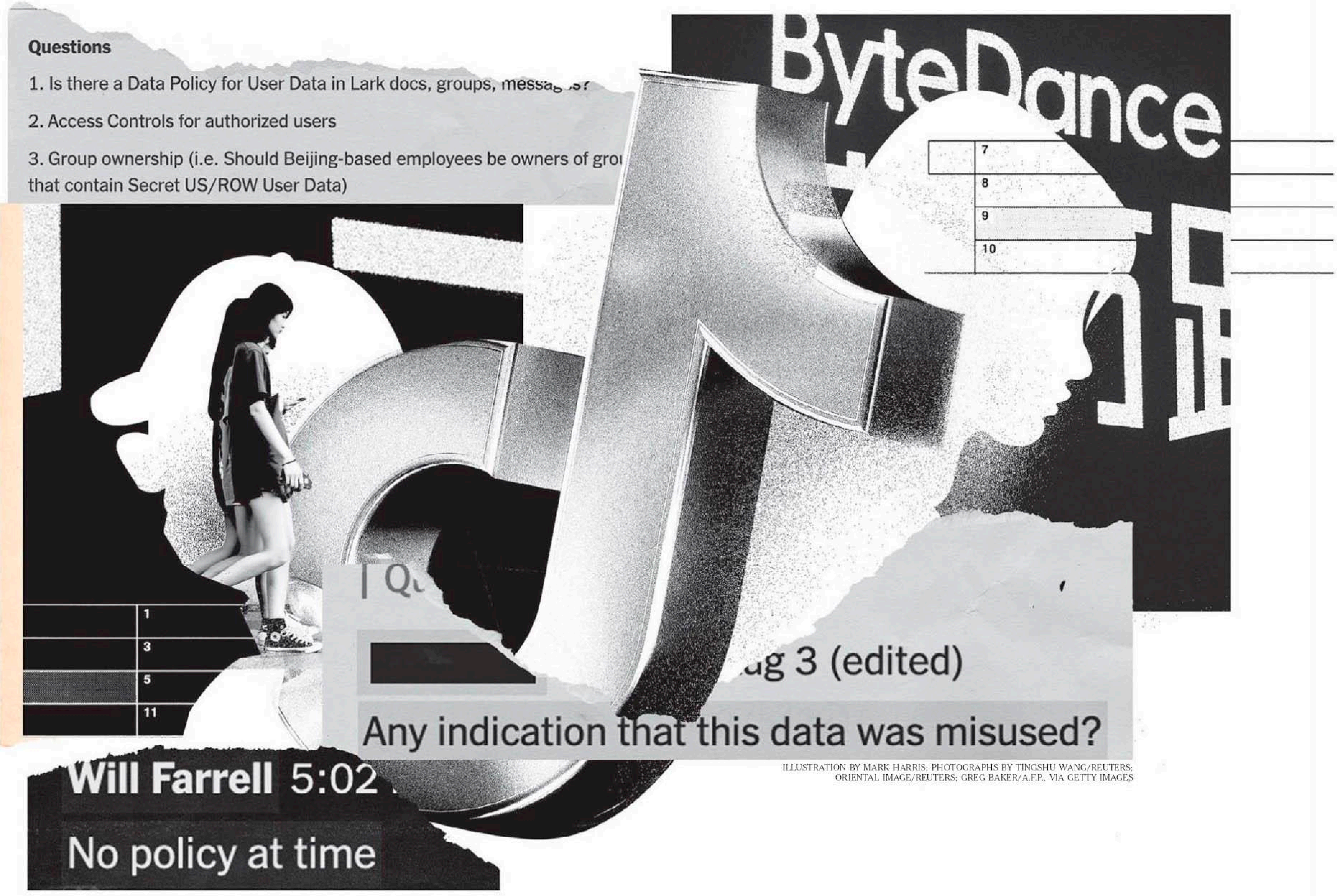

ILLUSTRATION BY MARK HARRIS; PHOTOGRAPHS BY TINGSHU WANG/REUTERS; ORIENTAL IMAGE/REUTERS; GREG BAKER/A.F.P., VIA GETTY IMAGES

Thousands of workers can see driver's licenses, addresses and photos posted on a company messaging platform, internal documents show.

By SAPNA MAHESHWARI and RYAN MAC

In August 2021, TikTok received a complaint from a British user, who flagged that a man had been "exposing himself and playing with himself" on a livestream she hosted on the video app. She also described past abuse she had experienced.

To address the complaint, TikTok employees shared the incident on an internal messaging and collaboration tool called Lark, according to company documents obtained by The New York Times. The British woman's personal data — including her photo, country of residence, internet protocol address, device and user IDs — were also posted on the platform, which is similar to Slack and Microsoft Teams.

Her information was just one piece of TikTok user data shared on Lark, which is used every day by thousands of employees of the app's Chinese owner, ByteDance, including by those in China. According to the documents obtained by The Times, the driver's licenses of American users were also accessible on the platform, as were some users' potentially illegal content, such as child sexual abuse materials. In many cases, the information was available in Lark "groups" — essentially chat rooms of employees — with thousands of

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Global Group Takes On Threat of Misinformation

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

WASHINGTON — Two years ago, at a virtual gathering organized by the Nobel Foundation, Sheldon Himelfarb outlined the idea that the world's leading scholars should join forces to study misinformation the way that scientists of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change documented the global effect of carbon emissions.

That new group gathered for its official introduction in Washington on Wednesday, uniting more than 200 researchers from 55 countries with a similar sense of urgency and alarm as the threat of global warming. In the group's first report, the researchers questioned the effectiveness of fighting falsehoods online with content moderation, one of the most common strategies to combating misinformation, saying other tactics had more scientific evidence behind them.

"You have to approach the information environment in the same way scientists approached the environment," said Mr. Himelfarb, the group's executive director and the chief executive of PeaceTech Lab, an advocacy or-

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SHURAN HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Researchers from International Panel on the Information Environment, which is aiming to study misinformation.

U.S. Credit Rating May Fall Even With a Brief Default

By JOE RENNISON

If the U.S. government defaults on its debt even for just a few hours next week, it could have long-lasting consequences for the nation's future. Three major ratings companies — S&P Global Ratings, Moody's and Fitch Ratings — play a big role in how damaging those consequences can be.

Because the financial fallout of a default would be severe, the agencies expect lawmakers to come to an agreement before the government runs out of cash to pay its bills, which could happen as early as next month. But if the government ends up missing a debt payment, all three companies have vowed to lower the rating of the United States as a borrower, and they may be reluctant to restore it to its previous level, even if a deal is reached soon after the default.

On Wednesday evening, Fitch fired its first shot across the government's bow, placing the United States' rating on watch for a downgrade, a move that "reflects increased political partisanship that is hindering reaching a resolution to raise or suspend the debt limit," the agency's analysts warned.

The United States has never deliberately reneged on its debt in the modern era, but even a brief default would alter the perception of debt-ceiling brinkmanship as political theater and turn it into a real risk to the creditworthiness of the government, Moody's has warned.

"Our view is that we would need to reflect that permanently in the rating," said William Foster, the lead analyst for the United States at the rating agency. The agency has said that if the Treasury Department misses one interest payment, its credit rating would be lowered by a notch. For the United States to regain its previous top rating, according to Mr. Foster, lawmakers would have to significantly alter the debt limit or remove it entirely.

Credit ratings, which range from D or C (for S&P and Moody's scales) to AAA or Aaa for the most pristine borrower, are embedded in financial contracts around the world, at times dictating the quality of debt that pension funds and other investors can hold or the

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

The Digest

MEDIA

Police Used Undue Force On Journalists, U.S. Finds

Two U.S. Park Police officers used excessive force against two Australian journalists covering a George Floyd protest outside the White House in June 2020, according to an investigation by the Interior Department's inspector general.

The investigation, published Wednesday, found that the officers violated U.S. Park Police policies when one pushed a cinematographer's camera with his shield and the other struck a reporter with his baton.

"We determined that an objectively reasonable officer on the scene would not have concluded that the reporter posed a threat under the circumstances," the inquiry stated. It added that the findings had been delivered to the National Park Service director for "any action deemed appropriate."

The journalists, who were not named, were identified in a New York Times article at the time as Tim Myers, the camera operator, and Amelia Brace, the reporter. *EMILY STEEL*

BANKING

Citigroup Plans Spinoff Of Banamex Franchise

HENRY ROMERO/REUTERS

Citigroup plans to spin off its Banamex banking franchise, the company said on Wednesday, a deal that would bring an end to Citi's two-decade push into Latin America.

Citi had announced last year that it planned to explore options for the Banamex business, which included a possible sale of the company to a rival bank or a major investor. Under C.E.O. Jane Fraser, Citi has been looking to simplify its business and pull out of 14 international markets where the bank does not have scale or significant operations.

But Banamex, or Banco Nacional de Mexico, is not a small part of Citi's business. Since buying the company in 2001, Citi has grown Banamex to Mexico's fourth-largest banking company, with 1,300 branches and 13 million customers. Banamex employs roughly 38,000 workers in the country.

Citi expects Banamex to separate the two businesses by the end of 2024 and the newly separated company will go public sometime in 2025. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

GOVERNMENT GRANTS

Microvast Weighs Options After Grant Is Canceled

Microvast Holdings is considering all its options, the lithium battery maker said Wednesday, after the Energy Department canceled a $200 million grant following lawmakers' concerns over the company's suspected links to China.

"Neither the Chinese government nor the Chinese Communist Party has any ownership in the company, nor do they control or influence company operations in any way," Microvast's chief executive, Yang Wu, said in a statement.

The grant, which stemmed from a $1 trillion 2021 bipartisan infrastructure law, was to help Microvast build a plant in Tennessee.

Two Republican lawmakers criticized the grant decision in a letter to Energy Secretary Jennifer Granholm in December, saying Microvast had ties to the Chinese Communist Party.

The grant was further targeted to support work by General Motors and Microvast on developing specialized E.V. battery separator technology. *REUTERS*

S&P 500 INDEX
−0.7%
4,115.24

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
−0.8%
32,799.92

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
−0.6%
12,484.16

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
3.71%
+0.014 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$74.34
+$1.43

GOLD (N.Y.)
$1,964.60
−$9.90

Economic Fears Hurt Markets Worldwide

By The Associated Press

Wall Street fell again on Wednesday as stocks tumbled worldwide because of worries about the economy.

The S&P 500 dropped 0.7 percent after Speaker Kevin McCarthy said Republicans and Democrats remained "far apart" in their efforts to prevent a potentially disastrous default on the U.S. government's debt. The main U.S. stock index is on track for its worst week in more than two months as the once-unthinkable creeps closer to possibility.

STOCKS & BONDS

The Dow Jones industrial average dropped 255 points, or 0.8 percent, while the Nasdaq composite lost 0.6 percent.

Other markets around the world fell even more as discouraging figures piled up on the economy. Stock indexes tumbled 1.7 percent in London, 1.9 percent in Frankfurt and 1.6 percent in Hong Kong.

Inflation in the United Kingdom remains worse than expected, raising worries that the Bank of England may keep raising interest rates and squeezing its economy. In Germany, business confidence fell in Europe's largest economy. And in China, worries remain about a weaker-than-hoped reopening from Covid restrictions as tensions rise with the United States over technology and security.

On Wall Street, the focus is squarely on Washington, where the U.S. government could run out of cash to pay its bills as soon as June 1 unless Congress allows it to borrow more. The widespread expectation is that a default would result in tremendous economic pain.

The stock market has remained mostly resilient despite the worries. Fear has so far been concentrated in the bond market, where prices have dropped for Treasury bills due to pay out around the date of a possible default. Price drops for bonds raise their yields, and the yield on a Treasury maturing June 1 jumped to 7.22 percent, up by nearly 1.25 percentage points from a day before, according to Tradeweb.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Wednesday

Source: FactSet
THE NEW YORK TIMES

5-Year Treasury Notes

High yields at auction.

Source: Treasury Department
THE NEW YORK TIMES

The widespread belief on Wall Street has been that Congress will come to an agreement at the 11th hour, as it has done several times before, because a default would benefit no one.

"It will sort itself out over the next couple of weeks and end up being a positive catalyst," said Jay Hatfield, chief executive at Infrastructure Capital Advisors.

Still, concerns are rising that Congress may not feel urgency to act unless markets fall sharply enough to force politicians' hands. A measure of fear among stock investors on Wall Street climbed 8 percent and is near its highest level since March. That was when worries were flaring hottest about the strength of the banking system, as it creaked under the weight of much higher interest rates.

Rates are so high because the Federal Reserve has yanked them up at the fastest pace in decades in hopes of getting high inflation under control. High rates do that by putting the brakes on the entire economy and hurting prices for stocks, bonds and other investments. That has many investors bracing for a recession even if Congress reaches a deal on the debt limit.

Helping to limit Wall Street's losses were several companies that reported stronger results for the start of the year than analysts had expected.

Kohl's jumped 7.5 percent after reporting a surprise profit for its latest quarter, helped in part by momentum at its Sephora beauty shops. Analysts had expected it to turn in a loss.

All told, the S&P 500 fell 30.34, to 4,115.24. The Dow dropped 255.59, to 32,799.92, and the Nasdaq lost 76.08, to 12,484.16.

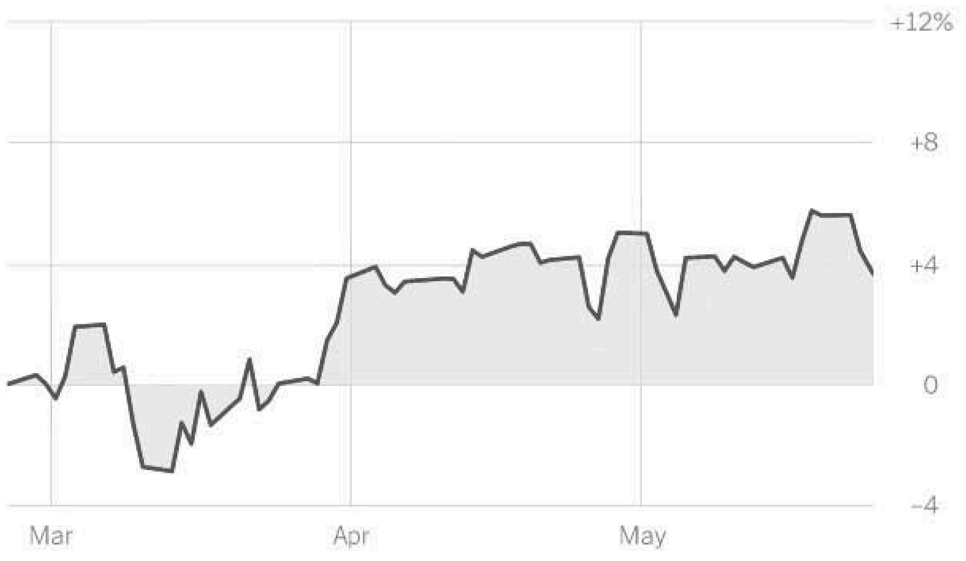
In the bond market, the yield on the 10-year Treasury rose to 3.71 percent from 3.70 percent late Tuesday. It helps set rates for mortgages and other important loans.

The yield on the two-year Treasury, which moves more on expectations for Fed action, rose to 4.37 percent from 4.33 percent.

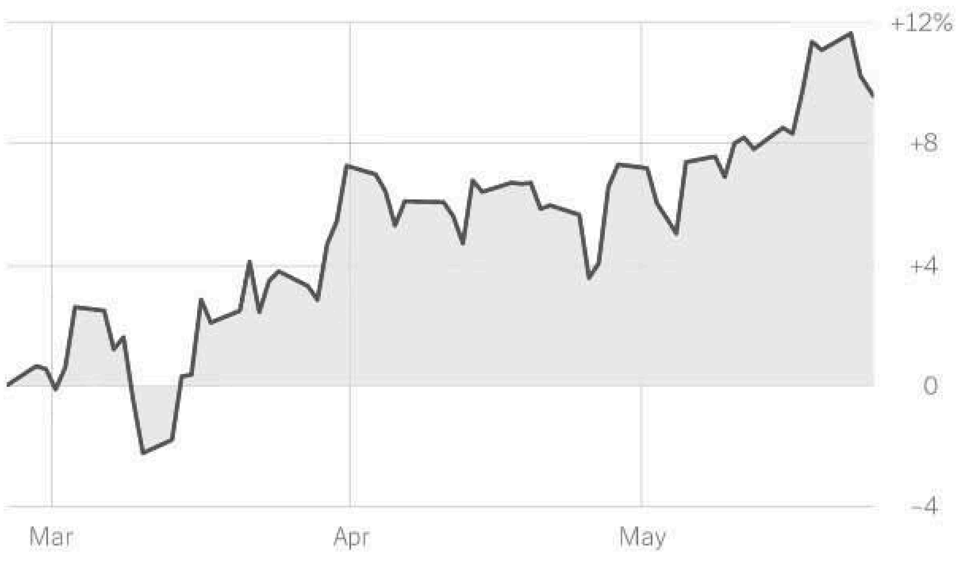
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

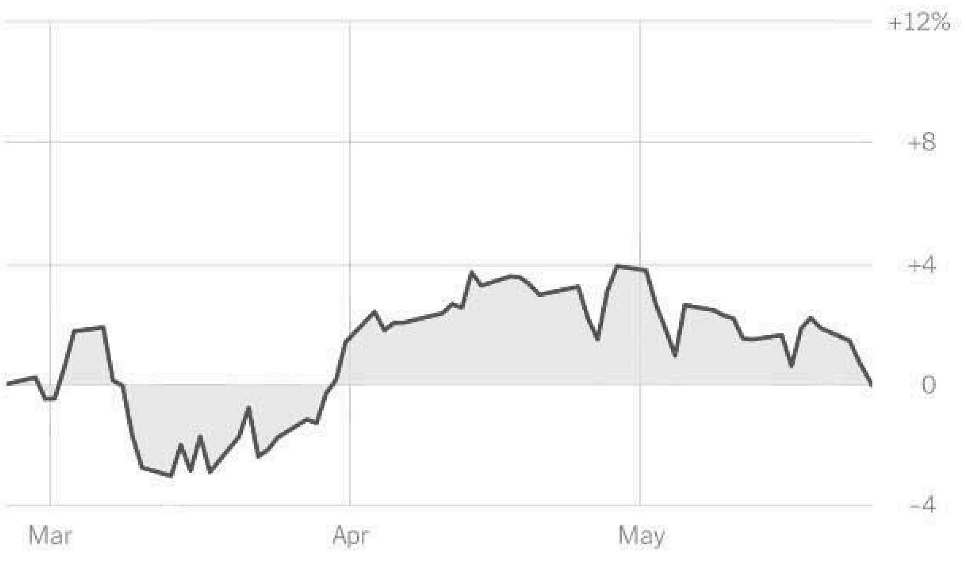
S&P 500 4,115.24 ↓ −0.7%
3 month performance: **+3.7%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 12,484.16 ↓ −0.6%
3 month performance: **+9.6%**



Dow Jones Industrials 32,799.92 ↓ −0.8%
3 month performance: **−0.1%**



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Illumina (ILMN)	$212.65	+4.1%
2. Netflix (NFLX)	$364.85	+2.5
3. Corning (GLW)	$31.53	+2.5
4. Valero Energy (VLO)	$114.79	+2.0
5. EQT Corp (EQT)	$36.54	+1.9
6. O'Reilly Auto (ORLY)	$928.94	+1.9
7. MARATHON OIL (MRO)	$24.02	+1.6
8. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$116.75	+1.5
9. APA Corp. (APA)	$34.38	+1.4
10. Gartner (IT)	$329.54	+1.3

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Analog Devices (ADI)	$173.20	−7.8%
2. Intuit (INTU)	$415.92	−7.5
3. Agilent Technologies (A)	$120.99	−5.9
4. Dish Network Co. (DISH)	$6.23	−5.6
5. Microchip Technology (MCHP)	$73.62	−5.2
6. Boston Properties (BXP)	$48.35	−4.9
7. NXP Semiconductors NV (NXPI)	$166.52	−4.9
8. Moderna (MRNA)	$131.59	−4.5
9. EPAM Systems (EPAM)	$253.07	−4.4
10. Digital Realty Trust (DLR)	$86.49	−4.4

Most active

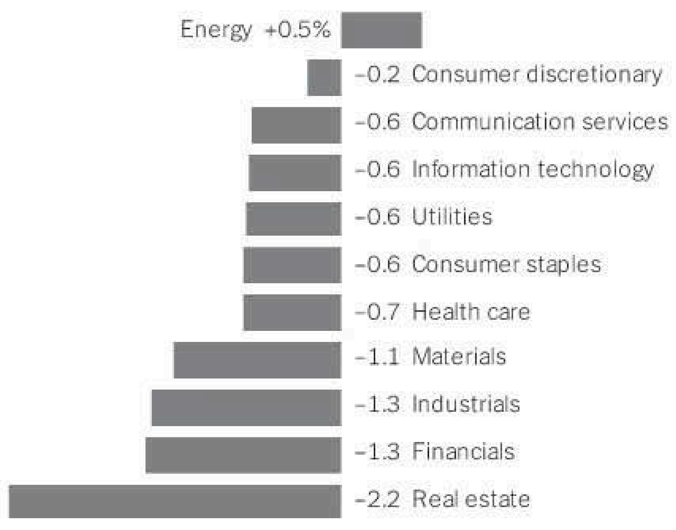
S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Tesla (TSLA)	$182.90	−1.5%	136
2. Ford Motor (F)	$11.33	−3.4	71
3. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$116.75	+1.5	61
4. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$108.27	+0.1	60
5. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$305.38	−0.5	55
6. Bank of America (BAC)	$28.10	−1.7	49
7. Apple (AAPL)	$171.84	+0.2	43
8. Pfizer Inc (PFE)	$38.63	−2.5	39
9. Carnival (CCL)	$10.67	−3.4	34
10. AT&T Inc. (T)	$15.95	−0.9	33

Midcap and small-cap stocks

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Mid-Cap Index Fund Admiral Shares (VIMAX)	−2.7%	+8.0%	140.1
2. Vanguard Small Capitalization Index Fund Investor Shares (NAESX)	−2.5	+6.3	115.8
3. Vanguard Instl Extended Market Index Trust (VSEMX)	−6.0	+5.6	81.8
4. Vanguard Small Capitalization Value Index Fund Investor Shares (VISVX)	−2.5	+5.9	45.9
5. Fidelity Extended Market Index Fund (FSMAX)	−6.0	+5.5	29.8
6. T. Rowe Price Mid-Cap Growth Fund I Class (RPTIX)	+1.7	+8.2	28.5
7. Vanguard Small-Cap Growth Index Fund Institutional Shares (VSGIX)	−2.5	+6.0	28.3
8. Fidelity Low-Priced Stock Fund Class K (FLPKX)	+3.0	+7.9	27.7
9. Vanguard Mid-Cap Value Index Fund Admiral Shares (VMVAX)	−2.9	+6.7	27.7
10. Fidelity Mid Cap Index Fund (FSMDX)	−1.7	+8.0	26.5

Source: Morningstar

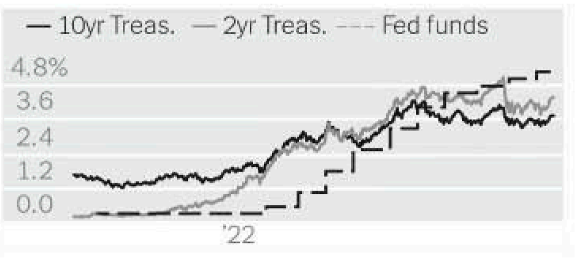
Sector performance
S&P 500 SECTORS

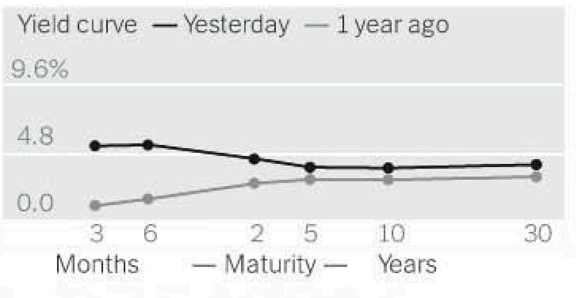


How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ... ... in Europe ... and North America

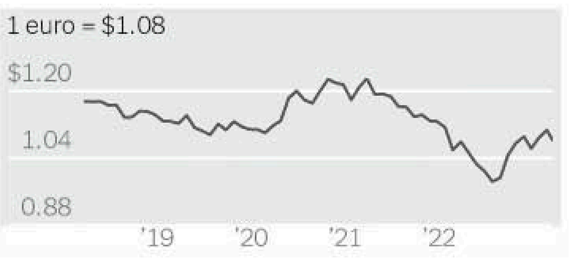
What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

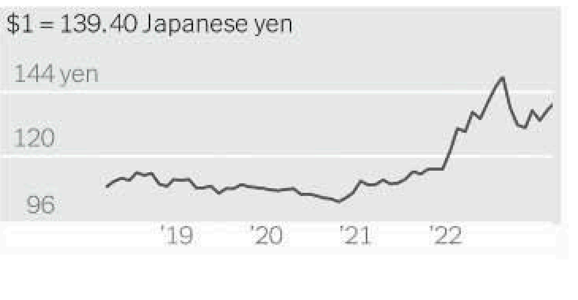
Bonds



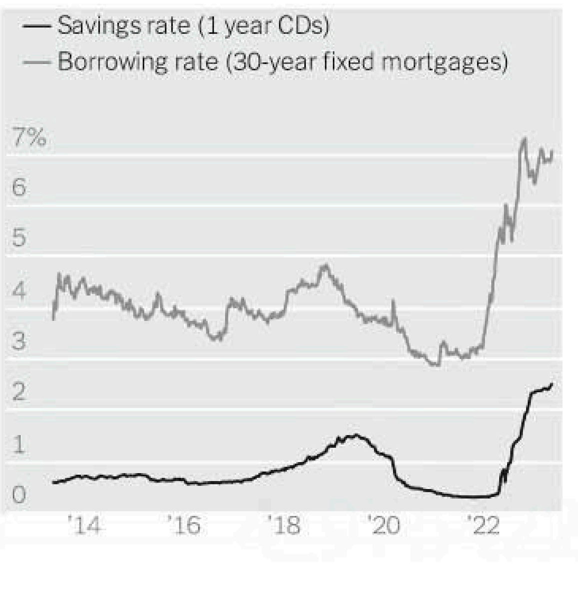


Currencies

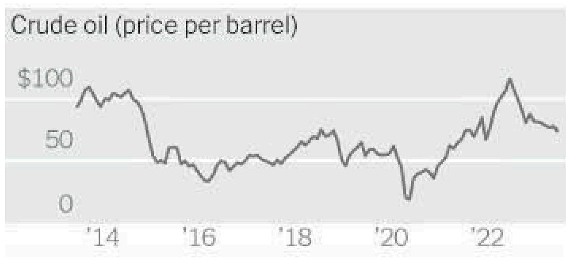


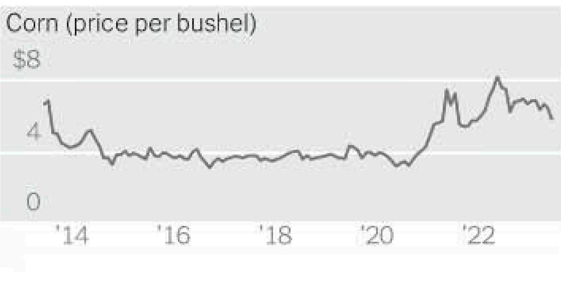


Consumer rates

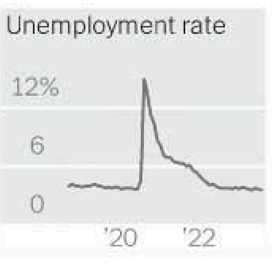


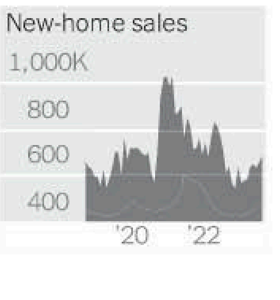
Commodities

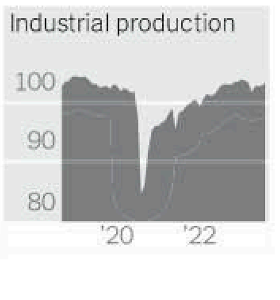




Economy







TECHNOLOGY

A.I. Needs a Watchdog, ChatGPT Creators Say

By GREGORY SCHMIDT

JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sam Altman, the chief executive of OpenAI, the developer of ChatGPT.

The leaders of OpenAI, the artificial intelligence research lab that developed the chatbot ChatGPT, have called for regulation of "superintelligent" A.I. technology, saying it "will be more powerful than other technologies humanity has had to contend with in the past."

To regulate the risks of A.I. systems, there should be an international watchdog, similar to the International Atomic Energy Agency, the organization that promotes the peaceful use of nuclear energy, OpenAI's founders, Greg Brockman and Ilya Sutskever, and its chief executive, Sam Altman, wrote in a note posted Monday on the company's website.

"Given the possibility of existential risk, we can't just be reactive," they wrote.

Concerns over powerful A.I. systems are growing.

Mr. Altman appeared before Congress on May 16 to implore lawmakers to regulate artificial intelligence. Congressional leaders shared their worries about the threats that A.I. could pose, including the spread of misinformation and privacy violations.

"I think if this technology goes wrong, it can go quite wrong. And we want to be vocal about that," Mr. Altman said in his testimony before members of a Senate subcommittee.

In March, more than 1,000 technology leaders and researchers, including Elon Musk, the chief executive of Tesla and owner of Twitter, called for a moratorium on the development of the most advanced A.I. systems, warning in an open letter that the tools presented "profound risks to society and humanity."

In their latest note, the OpenAI leaders said that "it's conceivable that within the next 10 years, A.I. systems will exceed expert skill level in most domains, and carry out as much productive activity as one of today's largest corporations."

Tech giants are competing for dominance in a fast-growing market.

The latest A.I. tools could upend the economics of the internet, turning today's tech giants into has-beens and creating the industry's next powerhouses.

Tech companies have spent billions of dollars on A.I., amid the rising concerns about its potential to match human reasoning and destroy jobs. Goldman Sachs estimated recently that A.I. could expose 300 million full-time jobs to automation.

BuzzFeed just introduced a chatbot that offers recipe recommendations.

Congress is trying to keep up.

At last week's hearing, Senator Richard Blumenthal, Democrat of Connecticut and chairman of the Senate panel, acknowledged that Congress had failed to keep up with new technologies. He added that the hearing was the first in a series to explore the potential of A.I. and eventually "write the rules" for it.

"Our goal is to demystify and hold accountable those new technologies to avoid some of the mistakes of the past," he said.

But over the years, partisan squabbles and intense lobbying by the tech industry have stalled dozens of bills intended to strengthen privacy, speech and safety rules.

ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Semafor's founders, Ben Smith, left, and Justin Smith, with other executives.

Semafor Raises $19 Million To Replace Crypto Funding

By BENJAMIN MULLIN

Semafor, the digital-media start-up, has raised $19 million from investors including the Yahoo co-founder Jerry Yang, replacing the money it had received from the disgraced cryptocurrency mogul Sam Bankman-Fried.

The money from Mr. Bankman-Fried, roughly $10 million, will be placed in an account separate from Semafor's other funding and returned to his creditors at the direction of the authorities, said Justin Smith, Semafor's chief executive and one of its founders.

"It was very important for us — more than that, it was necessary for us — to turn the page on this chapter," Mr. Smith, a former Bloomberg Media chief executive, said.

An investment from Sam Bankman-Fried will be returned.

In addition to Mr. Yang, Semafor's new investors include Henry Kravis, a co-founder of the private equity giant KKR; Jamal Daniel, owner of the Middle East news website Al-Monitor; Jorge Paulo Lemann, a co-founder of 3G Capital; and Stand Together, a network of business leaders founded by the entrepreneur Charles Koch. The polling organization Gallup is also an investor.

The investors have ties to both political parties, with Mr. Yang a regular donor to Democrats and Mr. Koch a major contributor to conservative causes.

Semafor declined to reveal its valuation after the latest funding round.

Semafor's other founder, Ben Smith, a former editor in chief at BuzzFeed and New York Times media columnist, said he and his partner were introduced to Mr. Bankman-Fried by one of his brother's advisers in early 2022 when they were raising funds for Semafor. Ben Smith said he had realized that Mr. Bankman-Fried's investment posed a problem for Semafor after editing an article about Mr. Bankman-Fried's attempt to bail out FTX, his troubled cryptocurrency exchange, written by Liz Hoffman, a Semafor editor who covers business and finance.

He said he and Justin Smith had not spoken with Mr. Bankman-Fried about the investment since FTX filed for bankruptcy protection in November.

Semafor has booked more than $10 million in revenue in 2023, split between advertising and events, which have been a larger-than-expected contributor to the company's business, Justin Smith said.

He said Semafor, which initially described its target audience as every college-educated English speaker around the world, had narrowed it to a group of influential opinion leaders. He said Semafor had 400,000 subscriptions to its free newsletters, which cover media, finance, technology and politics. Its website drew 1.5 million users in April, according to Similarweb.

"We were launching at a time when the smoldering carcasses of scaled media were littered everywhere," Justin Smith said.

This announcement is neither an offer to purchase nor a solicitation of an offer to sell Shares (as defined below). The Offer (as defined below) is made solely by the Offer to Purchase (as defined below) and the related Letter of Transmittal (as defined below) and any amendments or supplements thereto. The Offer is being made to all holders of Shares. The Purchaser (as defined below) is not aware of any jurisdiction in which the making of the Offer or the acceptance thereof would be prohibited by securities, "blue sky" or other valid laws of such jurisdiction. If the Purchaser becomes aware of any U.S. state in which the making of the Offer or the acceptance of Shares pursuant thereto would not be in compliance with an administrative or judicial action taken pursuant to U.S. state statute, it will make a good faith effort to comply with any such law. If, after such good faith effort, it cannot comply with any such law, the Offer will not be made to (nor will tenders be accepted from or on behalf of) the holders of Shares in such state. In those jurisdictions, if any, where applicable laws require that the Offer be made by a licensed broker or dealer, the Offer will be deemed to be made on behalf of the Purchaser by one or more registered brokers or dealers licensed under the laws of such jurisdiction to be designated by the Purchaser.

Notice of Offer to Purchase for Cash
All Outstanding Shares of Common Stock
of
CTI BIOPHARMA CORP.
at
$9.10 Per Share
by
CLEOPATRA ACQUISITION CORP.
a wholly owned indirect subsidiary of
SWEDISH ORPHAN BIOVITRUM AB (PUBL)

Cleopatra Acquisition Corp. (the "Purchaser"), a Delaware corporation and a wholly owned indirect subsidiary of Swedish Orphan Biovitrum AB (publ) ("Sobi"), a Swedish public limited liability company, is offering to purchase all of the outstanding shares of common stock, par value $0.001 per share (the "Shares"), of CTI BioPharma Corp. ("CTI BioPharma"), a Delaware corporation, at a price per Share of $9.10 in cash (the "Offer Price"), net to the seller in cash, without interest and subject to any applicable withholding taxes. This offer is being made upon the terms and subject to the conditions set forth in the offer to purchase, dated May 25, 2023 (the "Offer to Purchase"), and in the related letter of transmittal (the "Letter of Transmittal"), which Offer to Purchase and Letter of Transmittal collectively constitute the "Offer."

THE OFFER AND WITHDRAWAL RIGHTS WILL EXPIRE AT ONE MINUTE AFTER 11:59 P.M. EASTERN TIME ON JUNE 23, 2023, UNLESS THE OFFER IS EXTENDED OR EARLIER TERMINATED.

Tendering stockholders who are record owners of Shares and who tender directly to Computershare Trust Company, N.A., the depositary and paying agent for the Offer (the "Depositary") will not be obligated to pay brokerage fees or commissions on the sale of Shares pursuant to the Offer. Each owner or holder of a Share will pay any and all transfer taxes (including, for the avoidance of doubt, any stock, stamp, or duty tax) required by reason of any payment to a person other than the registered holder of Shares as set forth in Instruction 6 of the Letter of Transmittal.

Stockholders who hold their Shares through a broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee should consult with their nominee to determine if they will be charged any service fees or commissions.

The Offer is being made pursuant to the Agreement and Plan of Merger, dated as of May 10, 2023, by and among Sobi, the Purchaser and CTI BioPharma (as it may be amended, modified or supplemented from time to time in accordance with its terms, the "Merger Agreement").

As soon as practicable following the consummation of the Offer, and subject to the satisfaction or waiver of certain conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement, the Purchaser will be merged with and into CTI BioPharma (the "Merger"), with CTI BioPharma continuing as the surviving corporation and as a wholly owned indirect subsidiary of Sobi, pursuant to the provisions of Section 251(h) of the General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware (the "DGCL"), with no stockholder approval required to consummate the Merger. The closing of the Merger will occur as soon as practicable and in any event no later than the first business day after the conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement are satisfied or waived, unless another date is agreed to by the parties.

Each Share issued and outstanding immediately prior to the effective time of the Merger (the "Effective Time"), except for Shares (i) that are owned by CTI BioPharma or its subsidiary or held in the treasury of CTI BioPharma, or owned by Sobi, the Purchaser or any direct or indirect wholly owned subsidiaries of Sobi or the Purchaser (including, for the avoidance of doubt, any Shares acquired by the Purchaser in the Offer), or (ii) in respect of which appraisal rights were perfected in accordance with Section 262 of the DGCL, will be automatically converted into the right to receive cash in an amount equal to the Offer Price, without interest, subject to any applicable withholding taxes.

The Merger Agreement is more fully described in the Offer to Purchase.

The Offer is not subject to any financing condition. The Offer is conditioned upon (i) there shall have been validly tendered (and not validly withdrawn) Shares that, considered together with all other Shares (if any) beneficially owned by Sobi or its controlled affiliates, represent one more Share than 50% of the sum of (A) the total number of Shares outstanding as of the expiration of the Offer, and (B) the total number of Shares that CTI BioPharma would be required to issue upon conversion, settlement, exchange or exercise of all options, warrants, rights or securities outstanding at the time of the expiration of the Offer, that are convertible, exchangeable or exercisable into Shares, other than the shares of preferred stock of CTI BioPharma (whether then outstanding or for which the conversion, settlement, exchange or exercise date has already occurred at the time of the expiration of the Offer but, in any event, without duplication) (excluding Shares tendered in the Offer pursuant to guaranteed delivery procedures that have not yet been delivered in settlement or satisfaction of such guarantee) (collectively, the "Minimum Condition"), (ii) the Merger Agreement shall not have been validly terminated in accordance with its terms (the "Termination Condition"), (iii) any waiting period (or any extension thereof) applicable to the Offer under the Hart-Scott Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act of 1976, as amended (the "HSR Act") shall have expired or been terminated, (iv) there shall not have been issued by any governmental body of competent jurisdiction and remain in effect any temporary restraining order, preliminary or permanent injunction or other order preventing the acquisition of or payment for Shares pursuant to the Offer or the consummation of the Merger, nor shall any legal requirement have been promulgated, enacted, issued or deemed applicable to the Offer or the Merger by any governmental body which prohibits or makes illegal the acquisition of or payment for Shares pursuant to the Offer or the consummation of the Merger, (v) there shall be no pending legal proceeding by any governmental body challenging or seeking to restrain, make illegal, materially delay or prohibit the consummation of the Offer or the Merger, and (vi) the satisfaction or waiver by the Purchaser of the other conditions and requirements of the Offer set forth in the Merger Agreement and described in the Offer to Purchase.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF CTI BIOPHARMA UNANIMOUSLY RECOMMENDS THAT YOU TENDER ALL OF YOUR SHARES INTO THE OFFER.THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF CTI BIOPHARMA HAS UNANIMOUSLY (1) DETERMINED THAT THE MERGER AGREEMENT AND THE TRANSACTIONS CONTEMPLATED THEREBY, INCLUDING THE OFFER AND THE MERGER, ARE FAIR TO, AND IN THE BEST INTEREST OF, CTI BIOPHARMA AND ITS STOCKHOLDERS; (2) DECLARED IT ADVISABLE TO ENTER INTO THE MERGER AGREEMENT; (3) ADOPTED AND APPROVED THE EXECUTION, DELIVERY AND PERFORMANCE BY CTI BIOPHARMA OF THE MERGER AGREEMENT, AND THE CONSUMMATION OF THE TRANSACTIONS CONTEMPLATED THEREBY, INCLUDING THE OFFER AND THE MERGER; (4) RESOLVED THE MERGER SHALL BE EFFECTED UNDER SECTION 251(H) OF THE DGCL; AND (5) RESOLVED TO RECOMMEND THAT CTI BIOPHARMA'S STOCKHOLDERS ACCEPT THE OFFER AND TENDER THEIR SHARES PURSUANT TO THE OFFER.

Upon the terms and subject to the conditions to the Offer (as described in the Offer to Purchase), the Purchaser will accept for payment and thereafter pay for all Shares validly tendered and not properly withdrawn prior to one minute after 11:59 p.m. Eastern Time on June 23, 2023, unless (i) the Purchaser extends the period during which the Offer is open pursuant to and in accordance with the terms of the Merger Agreement, in which case the term "Expiration Date" will mean the latest date and time at which the Offer, as so extended by the Purchaser, will expire or (ii) the Merger Agreement has been earlier terminated. Pursuant to the Merger Agreement, the Purchaser will extend the Offer (i) on one or more occasions, in its discretion, for successive periods of ten (10) business days each, if as of the then scheduled Expiration Date, any condition to the Offer is not satisfied and has not been waived by the Purchaser or Sobi (to the extent waivable by the Purchaser or Sobi), in order to permit the satisfaction of such Offer Condition, (ii) on one or more occasions, at the request of CTI BioPharma, for successive periods of ten (10) business days each, if, as of the then-scheduled Expiration Date, any condition to the Offer (other than the Minimum Condition) is not satisfied and has not been waived (if permitted thereunder), in order to permit the satisfaction of such Offer Condition, (iii) for any period required by any legal requirement, any interpretation or position of the Securities and Exchange Commission (the "SEC"), the staff thereof or Nasdaq Stock Market, applicable to the Offer; (iv) for periods of up to ten (10) business days per extension, until any waiting period (and any extension thereof) applicable to the consummation of the Offer under the HSR Act and any foreign antitrust or competition-related legal requirement shall have expired or been terminated, and all necessary approvals shall have been obtained; (v) at the request of CTI BioPharma, for successive periods of ten (10) business days each, if, as of the then-scheduled Expiration Date, all conditions of the Offer have been satisfied or waived (if permitted thereunder, and other than any such conditions of the Offer that by their nature are to be satisfied at the expiration of the Offer (provided such conditions would be capable of being satisfied or validly waived were the expiration of the Offer to occur at such time)), except that the Minimum Condition has not been satisfied as of any then-scheduled expiration of the Offer, in order to permit the satisfaction of the Minimum Condition, provided, however, that in no event will the Purchaser be required to extend the Offer on more than three (3) occasions in the event that all of the conditions to the Offer have been satisfied or waived except for the Minimum Condition. The obligation to extend the Offer is further limited as described below and in the Offer to Purchase. For purposes of the Offer, as provided under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended (together with the rules and regulations promulgated thereunder, the "Exchange Act"), a "business day" means any day other than a Saturday, Sunday or a U.S. federal holiday and consists of the time period from 12:01 a.m. through 12:00 midnight, Eastern Time.

Subject to the applicable rules and regulations of the SEC, the Purchaser expressly reserves the right, to the extent permitted by the applicable legal requirements, (i) to increase the Offer Price, (ii) waive any Offer Condition, and (iii) make any other changes in the terms and conditions of the Offer not inconsistent with the terms of the Merger Agreement; except that, unless otherwise contemplated by the Merger Agreement or as previously approved by CTI BioPharma in writing, Sobi and the Purchaser will not (A) decrease the Offer Price (other than for an adjustment pursuant to the Merger Agreement), (B) change the form of consideration payable in the Offer (other than adding consideration), (C) reduce the maximum number of Shares to be purchased in the Offer, (D) impose conditions or requirements to the Offer in addition to the Offer Conditions described in the Offer to Purchase (E) amend, modify or waive the Minimum Condition, Termination Condition or the conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement, (F) otherwise amend or modify any of the other terms of the Offer in a manner that materially and adversely affects, or would reasonably be expected to materially and adversely affect, any holder of Shares in its capacity as such, (G) terminate the Offer or accelerate, extend or otherwise change the expiration date of the Offer, except as otherwise provided in the Merger Agreement, or (H) provide any "subsequent offering period" (or any extension thereof) within the meaning of Rule 14d-11 promulgated under the Exchange Act.

Any extension, delay, termination, waiver or amendment of the Offer will be followed as soon as practicable by public announcement thereof. In the case of an extension of the Offer, such announcement will be made no later than 9:00 a.m., Eastern Time, on the next business day after the previously scheduled Expiration Date. Subject to applicable law (including Rules 14d-4(d), 14d-6(c) and 14e-1 under the Exchange Act, which require that material changes be promptly disseminated to stockholders in a manner reasonably designed to inform them of such changes) and without limiting the manner in which the Purchaser may choose to make any public announcement, the Purchaser will have no obligation to publish, advertise or otherwise communicate any such public announcement other than by issuing a press release to a national news service.

For purposes of the Offer, the Purchaser will be deemed to have accepted for payment, and thereby purchased, Shares validly tendered and not properly withdrawn, if and when the Purchaser gives oral or written notice to the Depositary of the Purchaser's acceptance for payment of such Shares pursuant to the Offer. Upon the terms and subject to the conditions to the Offer, payment for Shares accepted for payment pursuant to the Offer will be made by deposit of the Offer Price therefor with the Depositary, for the purpose of receiving payments from the Purchaser and transmitting such payments to tendering stockholders of record whose Shares have been accepted for payment. **Under no circumstances will interest with respect to the Shares purchased pursuant to the Offer be paid, regardless of any extension of the Offer or delay in making such payment**.

No alternative, conditional or contingent tenders will be accepted.

In order for a CTI BioPharma stockholder to validly tender Shares pursuant to the Offer, the stockholder must follow one of the following procedures:

- If you are a holder and you have Shares held as physical certificates, the original certificates evidencing tendered Shares, a properly completed and duly executed Letter of Transmittal, together with any required signature guarantees, and any other documents required by the Letter of Transmittal, must be received by the Depositary at one of its addresses set forth on the back cover of the Offer to Purchase before the Expiration Date;
- If you are a holder and you hold Shares directly in your name in book-entry form in an account with CTI BioPharma's transfer agent, Computershare Trust Company, N.A., a properly completed and duly executed Letter of Transmittal, together with any required signature guarantees and any other required documents, must be received by the Depositary at one of its addresses set forth on the back cover of the Offer to Purchase before the Expiration Date. If you hold your shares in book-entry at The Depository Trust Company, you are not obligated to submit a Letter of Transmittal, but you must (1) submit an Agent's Message (as defined in the Offer to Purchase) and (2) deliver your Shares according to the DTC book-entry transfer procedures described in the Offer to Purchase before the Expiration Date;
- If you hold Shares through a broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee, you must contact your broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee and give instructions that your Shares be tendered; or
- For Shares tendered by a Notice of Guaranteed Delivery, the tendering stockholder must comply with the guaranteed delivery procedures described in the Offer to Purchase before the Expiration Date.

Shares tendered in the Offer may be withdrawn according to the procedures set forth below at any time on or before the Expiration Date. In addition, pursuant to Section 14(d)(5) of the Exchange Act, the Shares may be withdrawn at any time after July 24, 2023, which is the 60th day after the date of the Offer, unless prior to that date the Purchaser has accepted for payment the Shares tendered in the Offer.

For a withdrawal to be effective, a written notice of withdrawal must be timely received by the Depositary at its address set forth on the back cover of the Offer to Purchase and must specify the name of the person who tendered the Shares to be withdrawn, the number and type of Shares to be withdrawn and the name of the registered holder of the Shares to be withdrawn, if different from the name of the person who tendered the Shares. If certificates evidencing Shares have been delivered or otherwise identified to the Depositary, then, before the physical release of such certificates, the tendering shareholder must also submit the serial numbers shown on the particular certificates evidencing such Shares, and the signature on the notice of withdrawal must be guaranteed by an Eligible Institution (as defined in the Offer to Purchase). If Shares have been tendered according to the procedures for book-entry transfer of Shares held through the Book-Entry Transfer Facility (as defined in the Offer to Purchase) as set forth in the Offer to Purchase, any notice of withdrawal must also specify the name and number of the account at the Book-Entry Transfer Facility to be credited with the withdrawn Shares and otherwise comply with the Book-Entry Transfer Facility's procedures.

Withdrawals of tendered Shares may not be rescinded, and any Shares properly withdrawn will no longer be considered validly tendered for purposes of the Offer. However, withdrawn Shares may be retendered by following one of the procedures described in the Offer to Purchase at any time on or before the Expiration Date.

All questions as to the validity, form, eligibility (including time of receipt) and acceptance for payment of any tender of Shares will be determined by the Purchaser in its sole discretion. The Purchaser reserves the absolute right to reject any and all tenders determined by the Purchaser not to be in proper form or the acceptance for payment of which may, upon the advice of counsel, be unlawful.

None of the Purchaser, Sobi, the Depositary, the Information Agent (as defined below) or any other person will be under any duty to give notification of any defects or irregularities in tenders or incur any liability for failure to give any such notification. The Purchaser's interpretation of the terms and conditions of the Offer (including the Letter of Transmittal and the instructions thereto) will be determined by the Purchaser in its sole discretion.

CTI BioPharma has provided the Purchaser with CTI BioPharma's stockholder list and security position listings for the purpose of disseminating the Offer to holders of Shares. The Offer to Purchase and the Letter of Transmittal will be mailed to record holders of Shares whose names appear on CTI BioPharma's stockholder list and will be furnished, for subsequent transmittal to beneficial owners of Shares, to brokers, dealers, commercial banks, trust companies and other persons whose names, or the names of whose nominees, appear on the stockholder list or, if applicable, who are listed as participants in a clearing agency's security position listing for subsequent transmittal to beneficial owners of Shares.

The receipt of cash for Shares pursuant to the Offer or the Merger will generally be a taxable transaction for U.S. federal income tax purposes. In general, a United States Holder (as defined in the Offer to Purchase) will recognize gain or loss in an amount equal to the difference, if any, between such United States Holder's adjusted tax basis in such Shares sold pursuant to the Offer or converted into the right to receive cash in the Merger and the amount of cash received therefor (determined before deduction of any applicable withholding taxes). For a more detailed description of the material U.S. federal income tax consequences of the Offer and the Merger, see the Offer to Purchase. **Each holder of Shares should consult its tax advisor about the particular tax consequences to such holder of tendering Shares into the Offer or having Shares converted into the right to receive cash in the Merger.**

The Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal and CTI BioPharma's Solicitation/Recommendation Statement on Schedule 14D-9 (which contains the recommendation of the Board of Directors of CTI BioPharma with respect to the Offer and the reasons therefor) contain important information. Stockholders should carefully read these documents in their entirety before making a decision with respect to the Offer.

Questions or requests for assistance or copies of the Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal, and other tender offer materials should be directed to D.F. King & Co., Inc. (the "Information Agent") at its telephone numbers and address set forth below. Such copies may be furnished at the Purchaser's expense. Additionally, copies of the Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal and any other material related to the Offer may be obtained at the website maintained by the SEC at www.sec.gov. Stockholders may also contact their brokers, dealers, commercial banks, trust companies or other nominees for assistance concerning the Offer. Neither Sobi nor the Purchaser will pay any fees or commissions to any broker or dealer or to any other person (other than to the Depositary and the Information Agent) in connection with the solicitation of tenders of Shares pursuant to the Offer. Brokers, dealers, commercial banks, trust companies and other nominees will, upon request, be reimbursed by the Purchaser for customary mailing and handling expenses incurred by them in forwarding the Offer materials to their customers.

The Information Agent for the Offer is:

D.F. King & Co., Inc.
48 Wall Street
New York, New York 10005
Banks and Brokers Call: (212) 269-5550
All Others Call: (888) 280-6942
Email:ctic@dfking.com

May 25, 2023

ECONOMY

U.S. Credit Rating May Fall Even With a Brief Default

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

types of assets that can serve as collateral to secure transactions. Ratings also signal the soundness of a nation's finances, with lower-rated countries tending to face higher borrowing costs.

For the United States, a debt-limit deadlock that resulted in a default "would not be consistent with the highest rating possible," Mr. Foster said. "But if that rule is removed, if it was reformed in a way that it was no longer a major concern in terms of creating a default scenario, then that would be a context for potentially revisiting the credit profile and that maybe could result in bringing it back to Aaa."

S&P lowered the credit rating of the United States by one notch during a debt-limit bout in 2011, even though a deal was eventually reached and default averted. The agency has kept the rating at this slightly lower level, AA+, ever since.

"The thing that was most powerful in the 2011 decision was the political setting and that you had a very clear path to default. And it's still there," said John Chambers, who was part of the S&P team that downgraded the government's rating then. "The current debate validates S&P's decision to cut the rating and leave it there."

GABBY JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The United States has the highest credit rating from two of the three major ratings agencies, but that could change if it defaults on its debt.

A similar move by either Fitch or Moody's would drop the United States from a small club of the most highly rated debt issuers in the world. (Many investors still consider the United States triple-A, since that's its rating from two of the three authorities.) Moody's awards its Aaa rating to only 12 countries, and a downgrade would place the United States in a category beneath the likes of Germany, Singapore and Canada.

The United States' standing may suffer even without a default. Mr. Foster said crossing the so-called X-date — when the government runs out of cash to pay all its bills, which could come as soon as June 1, according to the Treasury — could be enough to lower Moody's "outlook" of the country's rating, referring to an opinion on the likely direction of a borrower's rating, similar to the step Fitch took on Wednesday.

Even a temporary deal to suspend the debt limit for a short period might not be enough to mollify the ratings firms. A spokesperson for Fitch said that a short-term deal, rather than one to raise the debt ceiling long term, would "only buy time."

"Developments in the coming days will be the focus of Fitch's rating assessment," the spokesperson said.

The United States benefits from its central role in the global economy, with the dollar the dominant currency in world trade and U.S. government debt the largest debt market in the world. Doubts about its creditworthiness could spook foreign investors and governments, which are major holders of U.S. debt, threatening the nation's ability to finance itself on terms as favorable as in the past, and potentially even upsetting its international standing.

"That's not good for the United States," Indonesia's finance minister, Sri Mulyani Indrawati, said at a recent gathering of global financial leaders.

Mr. Foster declined to comment on whether he had briefed the U.S. government on Moody's plans for its assessment of the country's credit rating as the debt-limit standoff continues.

"We can't talk about our discussions with issuers, including governments, but we can say that we have ongoing discussions throughout the year, and sometimes more high-frequency discussions depending on what's going on in a certain country at a time," Mr. Foster said. "We always have an open channel with those governments, including the U.S."

Yellen Warns of Missed U.S. Payments and 'Very Tough Choices'

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen said on Wednesday that it was "almost certain" that the United States would not have enough cash to continue to pay all of its bills on time beyond early June and that she would soon provide Congress with a more precise update about when the nation could default if the debt limit was not raised.

The comments, made at a WSJ CEO Council event, came as negotiators for the White House and House Republicans raced to reach a deal to raise the debt limit and reduce government spending that Congress can pass before June 1. The Treasury secretary reiterated her warning that a default would inflict severe damage on the U.S. economy and made the case that she would be left with no good options to contain the fallout.

"Treasury and President Biden will face very tough choices if Congress doesn't act to raise the debt ceiling and if we hit the so-called X-date without that occurring," Ms. Yellen said. "There will be some obligations that we will be unable to pay."

Ms. Yellen declined to elaborate on how exactly she would proceed if the debt limit was not lifted, but she dismissed the idea that "prioritizing" certain payments that the government was required to make would be an easy solution. She noted that government payment systems were devised to pay bills on time, not to decide which ones to pay.

"Prioritization is not really something that is operationally feasible," she said.

This week, Ms. Yellen notified Congress that the federal government could run out of cash as soon as June 1. Her projections have been met with skepticism by some House Republicans, who have

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen said that she would have no good options to contain the economic damage if the government failed to lift the debt limit.

been calling on her to produce an analysis that details the Treasury Department's cash reserves to prove that the deadline is real.

Ms. Yellen said on Wednesday that there was considerable uncertainty associated with tracking government payments and receipts but that she planned to provide as much clarity as possible in her next update.

The Treasury secretary said she was already seeing "the beginnings" of stress in financial markets due to the brinkmanship. However, she said she had not been engaging with investors about what would happen if the debt limit was not lifted.

"We are committed to not having missed payments and raising the debt ceiling," Ms. Yellen said. "We are not involved in planning for what happens if there is a default."

Despite her concerns, she said that she was hopeful the negotiations would be successful and that the Biden administration had been committed to policies that would reduce deficits.

"I think a deal is possible," Ms. Yellen said. "They're working toward an agreement that could command bipartisan support."

U.K. Inflation Slowed in April But Remains Stubbornly High

By ESHE NELSON

LONDON — Britain's inflation rate dropped to its lowest level in more than a year in April as the effects of last year's surge in energy prices started to ease.

Consumer prices in Britain rose 8.7 percent from a year earlier, the slowest pace since March 2022, the Office for National Statistics said on Wednesday. It is the first time since last summer that the country's inflation rate has not been in the double digits. For more than a year, rising prices in Britain have far outpaced wage growth and forged a deep cost-of-living crisis.

Core inflation, which strips out energy and food prices and serves as an indicator for how deeply inflation is embedded in the domestic economy, rose in April to 6.8 percent, its highest level in 31 years, the statistics agency said, pushed higher by prices in the services sector.

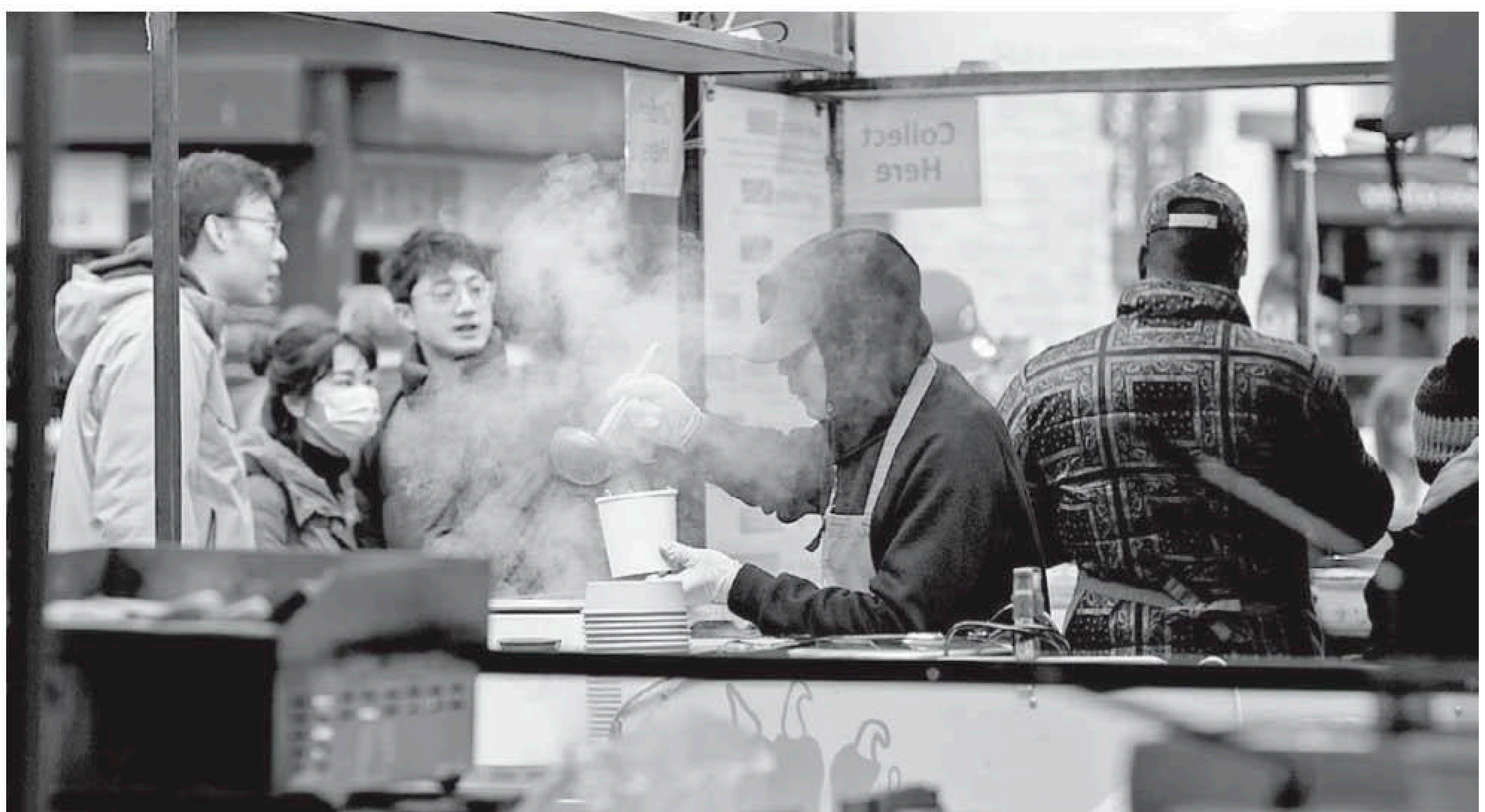
Why It Matters: Food prices are the main inflation concern.

The slowdown in inflation was less than the Bank of England's forecast, which had projected 8.4 percent for April. The inflation data has repeatedly turned out higher than the bank expects, intensifying the challenge facing policymakers tasked with lowering inflation to the 2 percent target. Since December 2021, the central bank has raised rates to 4.5 percent from near zero, making loans, especially mortgages, more expensive.

With energy prices falling, food prices have become the largest contributor to inflation. In April, food prices rose 19 percent from a year earlier, just lower than 19.1 percent in March, which was about the fastest pace since 1977.

Food accounted for more than two percentage points of the overall rate. The prices of bread, fish and dairy products were among those that continued to increase last month.

Food inflation in Britain is among the highest in advanced economies, the statistics agency said on Tuesday. The war in Ukraine and extreme weather have pushed up food prices, which



SAM BUSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A food stall in London's Borough Market. Food inflation in Britain is among the highest in advanced economies.

have been exacerbated by labor shortages.

On Tuesday, Jeremy Hunt, Britain's chancellor of Exchequer, met with food producers and Britain's competition regulator about the cost of food, but didn't announce any plans to lower costs.

Background: An inflation rate still higher than in the U.S. and Europe.

Britain's inflation rate peaked at 11.1 percent in October, the fastest pace since 1981, driven largely by the energy price shock that hit Europe. Like the U.S. labor market, Britain's was slow to rebound from the pandemic, forcing businesses to push up wages to retain workers, adding another inflationary pressure.

One of the reasons Britain's inflation rate has been slower to decline than in the United States (where it is 4.9 percent) and the eurozone (7 percent), economists say, is the way energy prices are factored into the calculation. Britain's energy regulator sets a cap on prices households pay. That cap is reset every quarter. When energy prices started rising more than a year ago, this system temporarily insulated households from that surge. Now that wholesale energy prices have fallen, it is taking longer for household bills to reflect that change.

On the whole, British households and businesses have shown resilience to high prices. On Tuesday, the International Monetary Fund said it no longer expected Britain to experience a recession this year, an assessment the Bank of England had also made recently.

But the stronger outlook could make inflationary pressures more persistent.

"Even as headline inflation is coming down," Andrew Bailey, the governor of the central bank, told lawmakers this month, policymakers are paying "particular attention to indicators of inflation persistence."

What's Next: A continued decline in inflation is expected, but how quickly?

The decline in April is the strongest signal that inflation in Britain has turned a corner. If energy prices continue to drop, then inflation is expected to keep falling this year.

But the speed of that decline is uncertain. Food prices are expected to rise more slowly, but economists aren't sure when that will take hold. Inflation in the services sector means the Bank of England's campaign to restrain inflation will continue. The government's target of halving inflation this year — a 5 percent inflation rate by the end of December — is at risk of falling out of reach.

PUBLIC LEGAL NOTICE

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, COUNTY OF NEW YORK

346 MADISON AVENUE, LLC and 11 EAST 44TH STREET, LLC, Petitioners, – against – JOHN DOE, Respondents. INDEX NO.: 158558/2022

Pursuant to an order of this Court made and entered on February 10, 2023, notice is hereby given that all persons claiming any interest in the real property described below, are hereby required to appear on September 12, 2023, at 10:00 a.m. in N.Y. Supreme Court, N.Y. Cty., held at 80 Centre Street, N.Y., N.Y., 10013, Part 28, Room 122, and show cause, if any, why they should not be forever barred from maintaining any action or proceeding seeking the enforcement of the restrictive covenant set forth in Paragraph 12 of the Verified Petition [Dkt. No. 1] on the property hereinafter described, which was conveyed to Petitioners by deed, dated August 8, 2007, and recorded on September 10, 2007, as CRFN 2007000462812, in the N.Y. City Register, N.Y. Cty., as well as by deed, dated January 9, 2019, and recorded on January 10, 2019, as CRFN 2019000011381 in the N.Y. City Register, N.Y. Cty. The Verified Petition, the Order, and all other documents filed in this proceeding may be obtained from the Court docket or by contacting counsel for Petitioners, which contact information is set forth below. The property affected by this notice is substantially described in the Verified Petition and is described as follows: the property located at Block 1279, Lot 17, and known as 346 Madison Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, N.Y. Cty., State of N.Y., as well as the property located at Block 1279, Lot 9, and known as 7-11 East 44th Street, Borough of Manhattan, N.Y. Cty., State of N.Y. **Any party seeking to be heard at the Public Hearing shall provide Petitioners with any supporting documents, such as a memo of law, but by no later than two weeks prior to the Public Hearing date. Supporting papers shall be delivered to counsel for Petitioners by overnight mail or email at the following address: Attn: Claude G. Szyfer, Stroock & Stroock & Lavan LLP, 180 Maiden Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10038, email: cszyfer@stroock.com, (P) (212) 806-5934.**

Fed Officials Were Split Over Raising Rates Again

By MADELEINE NGO

WASHINGTON — Federal Reserve officials were unanimous in their decision to raise interest rates this month, but were conflicted over whether additional increases would be necessary to bring inflation under control, according to minutes from the Fed's last meeting released on Wednesday.

The Fed voted to raise interest rates by a quarter-point on May 3, to a range of 5 to 5.25 percent, the 10th straight increase since the central bank started its campaign to rein in inflation last year. Although officials left the door open to further rate increases, the minutes make clear that "several" policymakers were leaning toward a pause.

"Several participants noted that if the economy evolved along the lines of their current outlooks, then further policy firming after this meeting may not be necessary," the minutes said.

Still, some officials believed "additional policy firming would likely be warranted at future meetings" since progress on bringing inflation back to the central bank's 2 percent target could continue to be "unacceptably slow."

Policymakers believed that the Fed's moves over the past year had significantly contributed to tighter financial conditions, and they noted that labor market conditions were starting to ease. But they agreed that the labor market was still too hot, given the strong gains in job growth and an unemployment rate near historically low levels.

Officials also agreed that inflation was "unacceptably high." Although price increases have shown signs of moderating in recent months, declines were slower than officials expected, and officials were concerned that consumer spending could remain strong and keep inflation elevated. Some noted, however, that tighter credit conditions could slow household spending and dampen business investment.

'I'm open to the idea that we can move a little bit more slowly from here.'

Neel Kashkari, the president of the Minneapolis Fed.

Fed officials believed the U.S. banking system was "sound and resilient" after the collapses of Silicon Valley Bank and Signature Bank this year led to turbulence in the banking sector. Although they noted that banks might be pulling back on lending, policymakers said it was too soon to tell how big of an impact credit tightening might have on the overall economy.

One source of concern for policymakers was brinkmanship over the nation's debt limit, which caps how much money the United States can borrow. If the cap is not raised by June 1, the Treasury Department could be unable to pay all of its bills in a timely manner, resulting in a default. Many officials said it was "essential that the debt limit be raised in a timely manner" to avoid the risk of severely damaging the economy and rattling financial markets.

The central bank's next move remains uncertain, with policymakers continuing to leave their options open ahead of their June meeting.

"Whether we should hike or skip at the June meeting will depend on how the data come in over the next three weeks," Christopher Waller, a Federal Reserve governor, said in a speech on Wednesday.

The president of the Minneapolis Fed, Neel Kashkari, said in an interview with The Wall Street Journal last week that he could support holding rates steady at the June 13-14 meeting to give policymakers more time to assess how the economy is shaping up.

"I'm open to the idea that we can move a little bit more slowly from here," he said.

Officials have reiterated that they will continue to monitor incoming data before reaching a decision. On Friday, the Commerce Department will release a fresh reading of the Personal Consumption Expenditures index, the Fed's preferred gauge of inflation. Early next month, the federal government will also release new data on job growth in May.

SOCIAL MEDIA

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shou Chew, TikTok's chief executive, testified before Congress in March.

TikTok Alarms Employees With Sharing of User Data

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

members.

The profusion of user data on Lark alarmed some TikTok employees, especially since ByteDance workers in China and elsewhere could easily see the material, according to internal reports and four current and former employees. Since at least July 2021, several security employees have warned ByteDance and TikTok executives about risks tied to the platform, according to the documents and the current and former workers.

"Should Beijing-based employees be owners of groups that contain secret" data of users, one TikTok employee asked in an internal report last July.

The user materials on Lark raise questions about TikTok's data and privacy practices and show how intertwined it is with ByteDance, just as the video app faces mounting scrutiny over its potential security risks and ties to China. Last week, Montana's governor signed a bill banning TikTok in the state as of Jan. 1. The app has also been prohibited at universities and government agencies and by the military.

TikTok has been under pressure for years to cordon off its U.S. operations because of concerns that it might provide data on American users to the Chinese authorities. To continue operating in the United States, TikTok last year submitted a plan to the Biden administration, called Project Texas, laying out how it would store American user information inside the country and wall off the data from ByteDance and TikTok employees outside the United States.

TikTok has played down the access that its China-based workers have to U.S. user data. In a congressional hearing in March, TikTok's chief executive, Shou Chew, said that such data was mainly used by engineers in China for "business purposes" and that the company had "rigorous data access protocols" for protecting users. He said much of the user information available to engineers was already public.

Internal documents appear to contradict a C.E.O.'s statements.

The internal reports and communications from Lark appear to contradict Mr. Chew's statements. Lark data from TikTok was also stored on servers in China as of late last year, the four current and former employees said.

The documents seen by The Times included dozens of screenshots of reports, chat messages and employee comments on Lark, as well as video and audio of internal communications, spanning 2019 to 2022.

Alex Haurek, a TikTok spokesman, called the documents seen by The Times "dated" and disputed that they contradicted Mr. Chew's statements. He said they did not accurately depict "how we handle protected U.S. user data, nor the progress we've made under Project Texas."

He added that TikTok was in the process of deleting U.S. user data that it collected before June 2022, when it changed the way it handled information about American users and began sending that data to U.S.-based servers owned by a third party rather than those owned by TikTok or ByteDance.

The company didn't respond to questions about whether Lark data was stored in China. It declined to answer questions about the involvement of China-based employees in creating and sharing TikTok user data in Lark groups, but said many of the chat rooms were "shut down last year after reviewing internal concerns."

Alex Stamos, the director of Stanford University's Internet Observatory and Facebook's former chief information security officer, said securing user data across an organization was "the hardest technical project" for a social media company's security team. TikTok's problems, he added, are compounded by ByteDance's ownership.

"Lark shows you that all the back-end processes are overseen by ByteDance," he said. "TikTok is a thin veneer on ByteDance."

ByteDance introduced Lark in 2017. The tool, which has a Chinese-only equivalent known as Feishu, is used by all ByteDance subsidiaries, including TikTok and its 7,000 U.S. employees. Lark features a chatting platform, videoconferencing, task management and document collaboration features. When Mr. Chew was asked about Lark in the March hearing, he said it was like "any other instant messaging tool" for corporations and compared it to Slack.

Lark has been used for handling individual TikTok account issues and sharing documents that contain personally identifiable information since at least 2019, according to the documents obtained by The Times.

In June 2019, a TikTok employee shared an image on Lark of the driver's license of a Massachusetts woman. The woman had sent TikTok the picture to verify her identity. The image — which included her address, date of birth, photo and driver's license number — was posted to an internal Lark group with more than 1,100 people that handled the banning and unbanning of accounts.

The driver's license, as well as passports and identification cards of people from countries including Australia and Saudi Arabia, were accessible on Lark as of last year, according to the documents seen by The Times.

Lark also exposed users' child sexual abuse materials. In one October 2019 conversation, TikTok employees discussed banning some accounts that had shared content of girls over 3 years old who were topless. Workers also posted the images on Lark.

Mr. Haurek, the TikTok spokesman, said employees were instructed to never share such content and to report it to a specialized internal child safety team.

TikTok employees have raised questions about such incidents. In an internal report last July, one worker asked if there were rules for handling user data in Lark. Will Farrell, the interim security officer of TikTok's U.S. Data Security, which will oversee U.S. user data as part of Project Texas, said, "No policy at time."

A senior security engineer at TikTok also said last fall that there could be thousands of Lark groups mishandling user data. In a recording, which The Times obtained, the engineer said TikTok needed to move the data "out of China and run Lark out of Singapore." TikTok has headquarters in Singapore and Los Angeles.

Mr. Haurek called the engineer's comments "inaccurate" and said TikTok reviewed instances where Lark groups were potentially mishandling data and took steps to address them. He said the company had a new process for handling sensitive content and had put new limits on the size of Lark groups.

TikTok's privacy and security division has undergone reorganizations and departures in the past year, which some employees said had slowed down or sidelined privacy and security projects.

Roland Cloutier, a cybersecurity expert and U.S. Air Force veteran, stepped down last year as the head of TikTok's global security organization, and a portion of his unit was placed on a privacy-focused team led by Yujun Chen, known to colleagues as Woody, a China-based executive who has worked at ByteDance for years, three current and former employees said.

Mr. Haurek said that Mr. Chen had "deep technical, data and product engineering expertise" and that his team reported to an executive in California. He said that TikTok had multiple teams working on privacy and security, including more than 1,500 workers on its U.S. Data Security team, and that it had spent more than $1.5 billion to carry out Project Texas.

ByteDance and TikTok have not said when Project Texas will be complete. When it is, TikTok said, communications involving U.S. user data will take place on a separate "internal collaboration tool."

Aaron Krolik contributed reporting. Alain Delaquérière contributed research.

This announcement is neither an offer to purchase nor a solicitation of an offer to sell Stratasys Shares (as defined below). The offer (as defined below) is made solely pursuant to the Offer to Purchase (as defined below), dated May 25, 2023, and the related Letter of Transmittal (as defined below) together with any amendments or supplements thereto. The offer is being made to all holders of Stratasys Shares. The offer is not being made to (nor will tenders be accepted from or on behalf of) holders of Stratasys Shares in any state or jurisdiction in which the making of the offer or the acceptance thereof would not be in compliance with the securities, blue sky or other laws of such state or jurisdiction or any administrative or judicial action pursuant thereto. Purchaser (as defined below) may, in its discretion, take such action as it deems necessary to make the offer to holders of Stratasys Shares in such state or jurisdiction.

Notice of Offer to Purchase for Cash
Up to 27,925,689 Ordinary Shares
of

stratasys

Stratasys Ltd.
at
$18.00 Per Share
by
Nano Dimension Ltd.

Nano Dimension Ltd. ("Purchaser"), a company organized under the laws of the State of Israel, is offering to purchase up to 27,925,689 outstanding ordinary shares, NIS 0.01 par value per share, of Stratasys Ltd., ("Stratasys" and "Stratasys Shares," respectively), not already owned by Purchaser, such that Purchaser would own up to and no more than 55% of the outstanding Stratasys Shares upon consummation of the offer, with a minimum condition of acquiring at least 53% of the outstanding Stratasys Shares, but in any event no less than 5% of the outstanding Stratasys Shares, at a price of $18.00 per Stratasys Share, to the seller in cash, less any required withholding taxes and without interest (the "Offer Price"), upon the terms and subject to the conditions set forth in the Offer to Purchase dated May 25, 2023 (as it may be amended supplemented, or otherwise modified from time to time, the "Offer to Purchase") and in the related Letter of Transmittal (as it may be amended, supplemented, or otherwise modified from time to time, the "Letter of Transmittal," which, together with the Offer to Purchase, collectively constitute the "offer").

THE OFFER AND WITHDRAWAL RIGHTS WILL EXPIRE AT 11:59 P.M., NEW YORK TIME, ON JUNE 26, 2023, UNLESS THE OFFER IS EXTENDED OR EARLIER TERMINATED.

The purpose of the offer is for Purchaser to acquire up to 27,925,689 outstanding Stratasys Shares and to acquire or influence control of the business of Stratasys. As a result of the offer, Purchaser will own up to 55% of the issued and outstanding Stratasys Shares, and in any event no less than 53% of the issued and outstanding Stratasys Shares. If more than 27,925,689 Stratasys Shares are validly tendered and not properly withdrawn, Purchaser will purchase 27,925,689 Stratasys Shares on a *pro rata* basis from all shareholders who have validly tendered their Stratasys Shares in the Offer Period (defined below) and the Additional Offer Period (defined below) and have not properly withdrawn their Stratasys Shares before the completion of the Offer Period, such that Purchaser would purchase no more than 27,925,689 Stratasys Shares. You may only withdraw previously tendered Stratasys Shares prior to the completion of the Offer Period. The offer is open to all holders and beneficial owners of Stratasys Shares.

The offer is not subject to any financing condition. The Offer to Purchase provides that, among other things, the offer is conditioned upon (a) a number of Stratasys Shares representing at least 5% of the issued and outstanding Stratasys Shares and voting power of Stratasys as of the Expiration Date (as defined below) are validly tendered and not properly withdrawn (the "Threshold Condition"); (b) a number of Stratasys Shares representing at least 53% of the issued and outstanding Stratasys Shares and voting power of Stratasys as of the Expiration Date when aggregated with the Stratasys Shares held by Purchaser are validly tendered and not properly withdrawn (the "Minimum Condition"); (c) at the completion of the Offer Period, the aggregate number of Stratasys Shares validly tendered and not properly withdrawn (excluding the Stratasys Shares held by Purchaser or any shareholder who has a "personal interest" or their relatives, within the meaning of the Israeli Companies Law 5759-1999) exceeding the aggregate number of Stratasys Shares represented by offerees who object to the consummation of the offer (the "Minimum Majority Condition"); (d) the Stratasys board of directors redeeming the Rights issued and outstanding under the Rights Plan, dated July 25, 2022 (the "Rights Plan" and the rights therein, the "Rights"), or the Purchaser being satisfied in its sole discretion that the Rights will not become exercisable as a result of the offer (the "Rights Plan Condition"); (e) Stratasys or its board of directors not authorizing, recommending, proposing or announcing its intent to enter into, or having entered into after the date of the offer to purchase, an agreement with respect to or otherwise effecting or agreeing to effect: (i) a merger, consolidation, liquidation, dissolution, spin-off or other business combination with respect to, or disposition or relinquishment of (A) Stratasys or any business unit or subsidiary of Stratasys or (B) any asset or assets constituting more than 10% of Stratasys' consolidated assets or revenues as reflected in Stratasys' most recent financial statements filed with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (the "SEC"); (ii) any purchase or acquisition by Stratasys or any of its subsidiaries of another business or entity; (iii) the adoption of any, or amendment to any existing, compensation arrangement with any executive officer or director of Stratasys which would be triggered upon a change of control event, including the offer; or (iv) the contracting, licensing or assignment of rights to manufacture, produce or assemble a material portion of Stratasys' products to any third party that is not a subsidiary of Stratasys (the "Change of Business Condition"); (f) obtaining CFIUS Approval (as defined in Section 18—"Legal Matters and Regulatory Approvals" in the Offer to Purchase) at least one U.S. business day (as defined in the Offer to Purchase) prior to the Expiration Date; and (g) obtaining all other required regulatory approvals. Subject to the applicable rules and regulations of the SEC and the terms and conditions of the Offer to Purchase, Purchaser expressly reserves the right to waive, in whole or in part, any conditions to the offer, other than the Threshold Condition and the Minimum Majority Condition, or modify the terms of the offer.

Upon the terms and subject to the conditions of the offer (including any terms and conditions of any extension or amendment), subject to proration, Purchaser will accept for payment and pay for the Stratasys Shares that are validly tendered and not properly withdrawn prior to 11:59 p.m., New York time, on June 26, 2023, unless, subject to applicable law, Purchaser extends the period of time during which the period of the offer is open or the offer is earlier terminated. The period of time during which the offer remains open, as may be extended or adjusted for earlier termination of the offer, is referred to as the "Offer Period" and the date of completion of the Offer Period is referred to as the "Expiration Date." Purchaser will publicly announce in accordance with applicable law, and in any event issue a press release by 9:00 a.m., New York time on the U.S. business day following the Expiration Date, stating whether or not the conditions of the offer have been satisfied or, subject to applicable law, waived by Purchaser.

The Offer to Purchase provides, subject to the terms and conditions set forth therein, that, as required under Israeli law, if (i) the conditions of the offer have been satisfied or, subject to applicable law, waived by Purchaser; and (ii) with respect to each Stratasys Share owned by Stratasys Shareholders, such shareholders have (a) not yet responded to the offer, (b) notified Purchaser of their objection to the offer, or (c) tendered such Stratasys Share but have properly withdrawn their tender during the Offer Period, then, such shareholders will be afforded an additional four (4) calendar-day period, until 11:59 p.m., New York time, on June 30, 2023, during which they may tender each such Stratasys Share the "Additional Offer Period" and to the expiration of such period the "Final Expiration Date." Promptly following the Final Expiration Date, Purchaser will announce the results of the offer and the Proration Factor (as defined in Section 7—"Terms of the Offer; Expiration Date" of the Offer to Purchase). Purchaser has the right, in Purchaser's sole discretion, to extend the Expiration Date, subject to applicable law. In addition, in certain circumstances, Purchaser may be required by law to extend the Expiration Date.

Any extension of the offer, waiver, amendment of the offer, or termination or amendment of the offer will be followed, as promptly as practicable, by public announcement thereof, the announcement in the case of an extension to be issued not later than 9:00 a.m., New York City time, on the first U.S. business day following the day on which Purchaser decides to extend the Expiration Date.

Stratasys Shares tendered pursuant to the offer may be withdrawn by following the procedures set forth in Section 10—"Withdrawal Rights" of the Offer to Purchase for withdrawing Stratasys Shares in a timely manner, at any time on or prior to the Expiration Date, or, if Purchaser extends the offer, before 11:59 p.m., New York time, on the date to which the offer is extended. Stratasys Shares tendered during the Offer Period may be withdrawn at any time prior to 11:59 p.m., New York time, on the Expiration Date, but not during the Additional Offer Period.

In order to tender your Stratasys Shares in the offer, you must follow the procedures described in Section 9—"Procedures for Tendering Shares or Notifying us of Your Objection to the Offer." In order for you to validly tender Stratasys Shares pursuant to the offer, (i) a properly completed and duly executed Letter of Transmittal, together with any required signature guarantees, or in the case of a book-entry transfer, an Agent's Message (as defined in Section 9 of the Offer to Purchase), and any other documents required by the Letter of Transmittal, must be received by Computershare Trust Company, N.A. (the "Depositary") at one of its addresses set forth on the back cover of the Offer to Purchase prior to 11:59 p.m., New York time, on the Expiration Date or Final Expiration Date, as applicable. In addition, certificates evidencing tendered Stratasys Shares must be received by the Depositary at its address or the Stratasys Shares must be delivered to the Depositary (including an Agent's Message, if you did not deliver a Letter of Transmittal), in each case prior to 11:59 p.m., New York time, on the Expiration Date or Final Expiration Date, as applicable, (ii) the tendering shareholder must comply with the guaranteed delivery procedures set forth in the Offer to Purchase. Accordingly, tendering shareholders may be paid at different times depending upon whether the required documentation, with respect to Stratasys Shares, are actually received by the Depositary. If certificates evidencing tendered Stratasys Shares are forwarded to the Depositary in multiple deliveries, a properly completed and duly executed Letter of Transmittal must accompany each delivery. No alternative, conditional or contingent tenders will be accepted and no fractional Stratasys Shares will be purchased.

For purposes of the offer, Purchaser will be deemed to have accepted for payment and thereby purchased Stratasys Shares validly tendered and not properly withdrawn if and when Purchaser gives oral or written notice to the Depositary its acceptance for payment of those Stratasys Shares pursuant to the offer. Upon the terms and subject to the conditions of the offer, payment for Stratasys Shares accepted for payment pursuant to the offer will be made by deposit of the Offer Price for those Stratasys Shares with the Depositary, which will act as agent for the tendering shareholders for purposes of receiving payments from Purchaser and transmitting those payments to the tendering shareholders whose Shares have been accepted for payment. **Under no circumstances will interest be paid on the Offer Price for Stratasys Shares, regardless of any extension of the offer or any delay in payment for Stratasys Shares.**

If you tendered your Stratasys Shares to the Depositary, for a withdrawal to be effective, a written notice of withdrawal must be timely received by the Depositary at the address set forth on the back cover of the Offer to Purchase. Any notice of withdrawal must specify the name of the person who tendered the Stratasys Shares to be withdrawn, the number of Stratasys Shares to be withdrawn and the name of the registered holder of the Stratasys Shares, if different from the name of the person who tendered the Stratasys Shares. If certificates evidencing Stratasys Shares to be withdrawn have been delivered or otherwise identified to the Depositary, then, prior to the physical release of the certificates, the serial numbers shown on the certificates must be submitted to the Depositary and the signature(s) on the notice of withdrawal must be guaranteed by an eligible guarantor institution, unless the Stratasys Shares have been tendered for the account of an eligible guarantor institution. If Stratasys Shares have been delivered pursuant to the procedures for book-entry transfer as set forth in Section 9 of the Offer to Purchase, any notice of withdrawal must also specify the name and number of the account at the Depository Trust Company ("DTC") to be credited with the withdrawn Stratasys Shares and otherwise comply with DTC's procedures. Additional details with respect to withdrawal rights are described in Section 10—"Withdrawal Rights" of the Offer to Purchase.

All questions as to the validity, form, eligibility (including time of receipt) and acceptance for payment of any tender of Stratasys Shares or Notice of Objection (as defined in Section 9—"Procedures for Tendering Shares or Notifying us of Your Objection to the Offer" of the Offer to Purchase) will be determined by Purchaser, in Purchaser's sole and absolute discretion.

The receipt of cash for Stratasys Shares accepted for payment by Purchaser from tendering shareholders who are "United States persons" for United States federal income tax purposes will be treated as a taxable transaction for United States federal income tax purposes. The receipt of cash for Stratasys Shares accepted for payment by Purchaser from tendering shareholders generally will be a taxable transaction for Israeli income tax purposes for both Israeli residents and non-Israeli residents, unless a specific exemption is available or a tax treaty between Israel and the shareholder's country of residence provides otherwise. For a summary of the material United States federal income tax and Israeli tax consequences of the offer, see Section 11—"Material U.S. Federal Income Tax and Israeli Tax Consequences" of the Offer to Purchase. **Holders of Stratasys Shares should consult their own tax advisors as to the particular tax consequences of the offer to them, including the effects of applicable state, local, foreign or other tax laws and possible changes in the tax laws.**

The information required to be disclosed by paragraph (d)(1) of Rule 14d-6 of the General Rules and Regulations under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended, is contained in the Offer to Purchase and is incorporated herein by reference.

Purchaser has requested that Stratasys provide Purchaser with its list of shareholders and with security position listings and, if applicable, the non-objecting beneficial owner list of Stratasys for the purpose of dissemination of the Offer to Purchase, the related Letter of Transmittal and related documents to holders of Stratasys Shares. The Offer to Purchase and the related Letter of Transmittal will be mailed to record holders of Stratasys Shares whose names appear on Stratasys's shareholder list and will be furnished to nominees whose names, or the names of whose nominees, appear on the shareholder list or, if applicable, who are listed as participants in a clearing agency's security position listing, for subsequent transmittal to beneficial owners of Stratasys Shares.

You are urged to consult with your own tax advisors regarding the application of Israeli income and withholding taxes (including eligibility for any withholding tax reduction or exemption, and the refund procedure). The Purchaser believes that the accounting treatment of the offer is not material to the decision of holders of Stratasys Shares to tender their Stratasys Shares in the offer. The purchase of Stratasys Shares by the Purchaser in the offer will have no effect on the financial statements of Stratasys.

The Offer to Purchase, the related Letter of Transmittal and the other documents to which such documents refer contain important information that should be read carefully before any decision is made with respect to the offer.

Questions and requests for assistance and copies of the Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal and all other tender offer materials may be directed to Georgeson LLC (the "Information Agent") at its address and telephone number set forth below and will be furnished promptly at Purchaser's expense. Stratasys shareholders may also contact brokers, dealers, commercial banks, trust companies or other nominees for assistance concerning the offer. Additionally, copies of the Offer to Purchase, the related Letter of Transmittal and any other material related to the offer may be obtained at the website maintained by the SEC at www.sec.gov.

Purchaser will pay the fees and expenses of the Depositary in connection with the offer. Brokers or other nominees may charge a fee for tendering Stratasys Shares on Stratasys shareholder's behalf. You should consult your broker or other nominee to determine whether any charges apply. See "Introduction" and Section 19—"Fees and Expenses" of the Offer to Purchase.

The Information Agent for the offer is:

Georgeson

Georgeson LLC
1290 Avenue of the Americas, 9th Floor
New York, NY 10104
(877) 668-1646

May 25, 2023

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SOCIAL MEDIA

Emulating Climate Panel, a Global Group Takes On Misinformation

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
ganization affiliated with the United States Institute of Peace in Washington.

The group, the International Panel on the Information Environment, has registered as a nongovernmental organization in Zurich at a time when the fight against misinformation has become increasingly mired in a broader erosion of trust in government, news organizations and other public institutions.

"Algorithmic bias, manipulation and misinformation has become a global and existential threat that exacerbates existing social problems, degrades public life, cripples humanitarian initiatives and prevents progress on other serious threats," the panel wrote in its inaugural announcement.

The panel was introduced during a three-day meeting, organized by the Nobel Foundation and the National Academy of Sciences, devoted to the erosion of public understanding and trust in science.

Speaker after speaker at the meeting described an onslaught of disinformation that has become a dispiriting fact of public life across the globe and that, with the recent explosion of artificial intelligence, could soon become even worse.

Maria Ressa of the Philippines, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2021, issued a manifesto demanding that democratic governments and Big Tech companies become more transparent, do more to protect personal data and privacy and end practices that contribute to disinformation and other threats against independent journalism. It has 276 signatories representing more than 140 organizations.

One challenge facing these efforts is overcoming the increasingly fierce arguments over what exactly constitutes misinformation. In the United States, the efforts to combat it have run aground on First Amendment protections of free speech. The biggest companies have now shifted focus and resources away from the fight against misinformation, even as new platforms emerged promising to forgo policies that moderate content.

On Wednesday, the panel's researchers presented the summary of its first two studies, which reviewed 4,798 peer-reviewed publications examining misleading information on social media and aggregated the findings on the effectiveness of countermeasures to it.

The findings suggest that the most effective responses to false information online are labeling content as "disputed" or flagging sources of state media and publishing corrective information, typically in the form of debunking rumors and disinformation.

Far less certain, the reports argues, is the effectiveness of public and government efforts to pressure social media giants like Facebook and Twitter to take down content, as well as internal company algorithms that suspend or play down offending accounts. The same is true of media literacy programs that train people to identify sources of misinformation.

> ***'We're not saying that information literacy programs don't work. What we're saying is that we need more evidence.'***
>
> Sebastián Valenzuela, a professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile who oversaw the study.

"We're not saying that information literacy programs don't work," said Sebastián Valenzuela, a professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile who oversaw the study. "What we're saying is that we need more evidence that they work."

The panel's inspirational model, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, was founded in 1988, a time when climate change was equally contested. Its scientists, working under the auspices of the United Nations, toiled for decades before its assessments and recommendations came to be recognized as scientific consensus.

When it comes to the digital landscape, and the impact on society of abuses, the science of disinformation could prove even harder to measure in concrete terms. Climate change is "hard science," said Young Mie Kim, a professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison who serves as vice chair of a committee focused on research methodology.

"So, relatively speaking, it's easier to develop some common concepts and tool kits," Ms. Kim said. "It's hard to do that in social science or humanities."

The new panel eschews a governmental role — at least for now. It plans to issue regular reports, not fact-checking individual falsehoods but rather looking for deeper forces behind the spread of disinformation as a way to guide government policy.

"It'd be too hard to put a bunch of scientists on evaluating the truth claims in any particular piece of junk," said Philip N. Howard, director of Oxford University's Program on Democracy and Technology and chairman of the new panel.

"What we can do is look for infrastructural interference," he went on. "What we can do is audit an algorithmic system to see if it's got lousy or unintended outcomes. It's still hard, but I think that's within reach as a research objective."

For One Group of Teens, Social Media Is a Lifeline

By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER

The surgeon general's warning Tuesday about social media's "profound risk of harm" to young people included a significant qualification. For some of them, the warning said, social media can be beneficial to health in important ways.

For one group in particular — the growing share of young people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer — social media can be a lifeline, researchers and teenagers say. Especially for those growing up in unwelcoming families or communities, social media often provides a sense of identity and belonging at a crucial age.

"It's a lifeline for folks to receive information and to really see that they are not alone, and there are so many people like them," said Jessica Fish, who studies L.G.B.T.Q. youth and their families at the University of Maryland School of Public Health. "They can feel some sense of connection, and realize there is a place for them."

Growing up in a sheltered Mormon and Christian community in Kansas, Cassius O'Brien-Stiner, 19, said he had little exposure to L.G.B.T.Q. identities: "I was pretty unaware that even being gay was a thing."

Then Mr. O'Brien-Stiner, who is transgender, started using Facebook and YouTube as an adolescent, and found a group for queer people. He has had some negative and even dangerous experiences online, he said, including cyberbullying. But it was also where he first learned the word "trans."

"It was weird, feeling completely alone and then, suddenly, there were thousands of people who felt the same way I felt, on a spectrum," said Mr. O'Brien-Stiner, who now attends the University of Kansas. "It was both eye-opening and really comforting."

The surgeon general's advisory focused on social media's effect on young people's mental health and well-being. It noted that its use is associated with problems like depression and eating disorders, and it can displace vital activities like sleeping, exercising and spending time with friends in person.

L.G.B.T.Q. teenagers may face additional risks related to their identities, including hateful language or sexual victimization. They are more susceptible to cyberbullying, research has shown, and it can have negative effects on their emotions, behavior and academics.

Yet a variety of research over the decade since social media became ubiquitous among teenagers has found that often, social media use has been more beneficial than not for L.G.B.T.Q. youth. This includes sites like TikTok, Tumblr, Discord and YouTube, as well as L.G.B.T.Q.-focused sites like Q Chat Space and TrevorSpace.

JOY ASICO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Daniel Trujillo, a 15-year-old transgender activist, spoke at a Human Rights Campaign rally in Washington in March.

Young people use social media to explore their identities, research has found. It has probably contributed to the fact that L.G.B.T.Q. people have begun coming out earlier in their lives, which can have long-term positive effects on mental health.

L.G.B.T.Q. youth go online to find friends and seek emotional support, and to search for information about their identities and health. During pandemic lockdowns, when some were home with families who did not support them, online communities provided them with acceptance.

Though data shows that the mental health of L.G.B.T.Q. teens is worse than that of straight teens, it can be improved by being online, said Shelley L. Craig, a Canada Research Chair in sexual and gender minority youth at the University of Toronto. Her research has found that L.G.B.T.Q. youth find two things online that are known to reduce depression and suicidal thoughts: hope, and a sense of control over their actions and environment.

They often feel safer online, she said, because they can log off or remove their profile in a way they can't if a school bully is harassing them or a teacher or family member is saying something offensive.

"The language these kids are using to describe social media in my research is: 'It's my home,' 'It's my family,' 'It's kept me alive,'" she said. "We've found it has built L.G.B.T.Q. youth's resilience, and given them hope."

Professor Fish compared social media to gay bars — a place L.G.B.T.Q. people go "for community, to meet people, to be in safe spaces and to discover who they are." Just as drinking alcohol is not without risks, she said, neither is the internet. The challenge is to mitigate the harms, while enabling young people to experience the benefits — by teaching digital literacy, for instance, and making sites safer for young people.

At Roosevelt High School in Portland, Ore., members of the queer-straight alliance, a student group, said social media had accelerated their understanding of their identities, and their acceptance among peers.

"Representation on social media is a huge part of it," said Regan Palmer, 16. "It's more accessible to see the different variations you can be, and know that sexuality is not a binary, it's a spectrum."

Her classmate Jareth Leiker, 16, said seeing people come out online helped young people do it in their own lives: "To see someone else have the courage to do something, you have the courage."

Eleanor Woosley, 15, said: "More people who are gay came out on social media and then more people were like, 'Hey, you sound like how I feel,' and it just kept going like that."

Unglue Children From Their Screens? Believe It or Not, Parents Have Some Options.

Brian X. Chen
TECH FIX

Attention, parents with "screenagers": The U.S. government has issued a public warning that scrolling through apps like TikTok, Instagram and Snapchat may pose serious risks to your child's mental health.

In a 19-page report, Surgeon General Vivek H. Murthy said on Tuesday that while social media offered some benefits to younger people, including the ability to connect with communities, it also exposed them to potential harms, such as cyberbullying and content that promotes eating disorders, self-harm and other destructive behavior. Social media also hurts exercise, sleep and other activities, he said.

What can parents do? One is to explore potential options to limit children's screen time. Let's go through them.

What tools are available, and where do we get them?

Google's and Apple's mobile operating systems offer free tools that can be effective for restricting screen time on smartphones and tablets.

These tools allow parents to monitor and set limits on their children's devices.

For Android devices, there's Family Link, an app that must be downloaded through the Google Play Store. From there, parents can set up a child's Google account to be monitored with the software. For parents who use iPhones and want to manage their children's Android phones, there is also a Family Link app for iOS.

For iPhones, Apple's iOS includes a tool called Screen Time, which can also limit the time that someone spends on the device. It can be activated inside the iPhone's settings app by following Apple's instructions.

Are these tools any good?

Both have pros and cons.

Google's Family Link has useful features, including the option to reject apps that a child is trying to download and the ability to lock down a device at specific times — between 9 p.m. and 7 a.m., for example, when the child is in bed.

But Family Link has a major limitation: When children turn 13, they can choose to "graduate," as Google calls it, or lift the restrictions. At that age, the child reaches the minimum age requirement in the United States to create a Google account without parental consent.

One workaround for parents who want to continue using the restrictions is to go into the child's Google account and modify the age to under 13.

We also tested Apple's Screen Time feature in a weekslong experiment when the tool was introduced. The feature lets parents create time limits for specific apps or categories of apps, like social networking or games, on their children's iPhones. When the child runs out of time with an app, it locks the child out. The parent can then have a conversation with the child and decide whether to allow additional time on an app.

The downside is that parents who are also using the tools to monitor their own phone use can easily bypass the restrictions using their passcode — and they may realize they are even more addicted to their screens than their children.

Are there other options?

Yes. There are also third-party Android and iOS apps that allow parents to manage screen time, though they should be used with caution. Some apps from unknown brands that are marketed as parental control apps have been used by stalkers to track the users' locations and even eavesdrop on them through their microphones — a type of malicious software that security researchers call "stalkerware."

Parents have plenty of resources to find reputable tools that can also work on personal computers, as well as on phones and tablets. Common Sense Media, a nonprofit that reviews products for families, found that Qustodio and NetNanny gave parents deep control of their children's devices.

Do social media companies offer features to limit use of their apps?

Social media companies also offer some features to remind people to stop scrolling. Instagram, for example, has a "Take a Break" reminder that can be turned on, and TikTok this year introduced its own tool for limiting time spent inside its app.

But many people, including teenagers, have found that these tools can be easily overridden.

UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT, DISTRICT OF NEW JERSEY

In re: DAVID'S BRIDAL, LLC, *et al.*, Debtors.[1] — Chapter 11, Case No. 23-13131 (CMG) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF ENTRY OF BAR DATE ORDER FOR FILING CLAIMS AGAINST THE DEBTORS

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

Entry of the Bar Date Order. On May 18, 2023 the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of New Jersey entered an order [Docket No. 237] (the "Bar Date Order") establishing the deadlines for the filing of claims (collectively, the "Bar Dates" and individually, a "Bar Date") in the Chapter 11 Cases of David's Bridal, LLC, *et al.* (collectively, the "Debtors") with the Debtors' court-appointed claims and noticing, Omni Agent Solutions, Inc. (the "Claims Agent"). A detailed explanation of the parties that are/are not required to file claims is available in the Bar Date Order, which is available as specified below. The deadlines established by the Court are as follows:

General Bar Date. **June 22, 2023** is the deadline for all persons and entities holding a claim against the Debtors **arising (or deemed to arise) before the April 17, 2023 Petition Date** (each, a "General Claim"), including any claim arising under Bankruptcy Code section 503(b)(9) for the value of goods received by the Debtors within twenty (20) days before April 17, 2023 (the "Petition Date").

Administrative Bar Date. **June 22, 2023** is the deadline for all persons and entities holding any right to payment constituting a cost or expense of administration of the Debtors' Chapter 11 Cases arising under Bankruptcy Code sections 503(b) (with the exception of any claims arising under Bankruptcy Code section 503(b)(9), which are considered General Claims subject to the General Bar Date above) and 507(a)(2) against the Debtors (each an "Administrative Claim") **arising from the Petition Date through May 22, 2023**, *provided, however*, that the Debtors' Utility Providers (as that term is defined in the *Debtors' Motion for Entry of Interim and Final Orders (I) Prohibiting Utility Providers from Altering, Refusing or Discontinuing Utility Services, (II) Determining Adequate Assurance of Payment for Future Utility Services, (III) Establishing Procedures for Determining Adequate Assurance of Payment, (IV) Authorizing the Payment of Prepetition Administrative Fees Relating to Utility Services, and (V) Granting Related Relief* [Docket No. 10]) shall not be bound by the Administrative Bar Date and any Administrative Claims of the Debtors' Utility Providers shall be subject to further Order of the Court.

Governmental Bar Date. **October 16, 2023** is the date by which all governmental units holding claims against the Debtors arising (or deemed to arise) before the Petition Date (whether secured, unsecured priority, or unsecured non-priority) must file proofs of claim.

Amended Schedules Bar Date. In the event the Debtors amend their Schedules, holders of claims subject to such amendment are required to file a proof of claim by later of (i) the General Bar Date or (ii) thirty (30) days from the date on which the Debtors provided notice of the amendment to the Schedules (or another time period as may be fixed by the Court) as the date by which holders of claims affected by the amendment must file proofs of claim with respect to such claim.

Rejection Bar Date. The deadline to file a proof of claim for damages relating to the rejection of a contract or lease that has already been rejected as of the date hereof is the General Bar Date. If the Debtors reject a contract or lease subsequent to the date hereof, the deadline to file a proof of claim shall be the later of (i) the General Bar Date, (ii) thirty (30) days after the applicable lease rejection date pursuant to the Rejection Procedures Order,[2] and (iii) thirty (30) days from the date the rejection order is entered or notice is served on the affected claimant pursuant to the Rejection Procedures Order, if applicable. For the avoidance of doubt, the deadlines applicable to claims arising from the rejection of unexpired leases as of the Petition Date shall also apply to any claims under such unexpired leases of the Petition Date, such that parties holding such claims shall not be required to file Proofs of Claim with respect to prepetition amounts unless and until such unexpired lease has been rejected.

Supplemental Bar Date. Parties served with Supplemental Notice must file claims by thirty (30) days after the Supplemental Notice is served.

EXCEPT AS TO CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS EXPLICITLY SET FORTH IN THE BAR DATE ORDER, ANY PERSON OR ENTITY WHO FAILS TO FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM OR ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIM, AS APPLICABLE, ON OR BEFORE THE BAR DATES SHALL NOT BE TREATED AS A CREDITOR WITH RESPECT TO SUCH CLAIM FOR THE PURPOSES OF VOTING AND DISTRIBUTION.

Contents of Proofs of Claim. Subject to the Bar Date Order, each General Claim Form or Administrative Claim Form, as applicable, must (i) be written in English; (ii) include a claim amount denominated in United States dollars;[3] (iii) conform substantially with the General Claim Form or Administrative Claim Form, as applicable; (iv) identify the Debtor against which the claim is asserted; and (v) be signed by the holder of the claim or by an authorized agent or legal representative of the holder of the claim. Each original claim form must be submitted prior to the applicable Bar Date (photocopies, telecopies, or facsimiles will not be accepted). A detailed explanation of the parties, the claims requirements and process is available in the Bar Date Order, which is available as specified below.

Submitting Claims and Timely Service. Each Claim Form and Administrative Claim Form, as applicable, including supporting documentation, must be submitted: (i) on or before the applicable Bar Date, by completing the applicable form, copies of which can be accessed at the Claims Agent's website https://omniagentsolutions.com/DavidsBridal and following the directions given therein; or (ii) in person, by courier service, overnight delivery, hand delivery, or United States mail so as to be **actually received** by the Claims Agent on or before the applicable Bar Date at the following address: David's Bridal, LLC Claims Processing, c/o Omni Agent Solutions, 5955 De Soto Avenue, Suite 100, Woodland Hills, CA 91367.

Additionally, a General Claim Form may be submitted electronically using the interface available on the website maintained by the Claims Agent in these cases (https://omniagentsolutions.com/DavidsBridal) so as to be **actually received** by the Claims Agent on or before the applicable Bar Date.

EXCEPT AS EXPRESSLY PERMITTED ABOVE, A CLAIM FORM OTHERWISE SUBMITTED BY FACSIMILE, TELECOPY, ELECTRONIC MAIL OR OTHER FORM OF ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

Consequences of Failing to Timely Submit Your Proof of Claim. Pursuant to the Bar Date Order and in accordance with Bankruptcy Rule 3003(c)(2), if you or any party or entity who is required, but fails, to file a proof of claim in accordance with the Bar Date Order on or before the applicable Bar Date, please be advised that you (a) shall, except as otherwise authorized by order of the Court, be forever barred, estopped and enjoined from asserting such claim against the Debtors (or filing a proof of claim with respect thereto) and, moreover, the Debtors shall be forever discharged from any and all indebtedness or liability with respect to or arising from such claim; (b) shall be prohibited from voting to accept or reject any chapter 11 plan filed in these Chapter 11 Cases; and (c) shall be prohibited from participating in any distribution in these Chapter 11 Cases on account of such claim.

Reservation of Rights. Nothing contained in this notice is intended to or should be construed as a waiver of the Debtors' or any successors' rights to: (a) dispute, or assert offsets or defenses against, any filed claim or any claim listed or reflected in the Schedules as to the nature, amount, liability, classification, characterization or validity thereof; (b) subsequently designate any scheduled claim as disputed, contingent or unliquidated; and (c) otherwise amend or supplement the Schedules.

Access to Claim Forms and Additional Information. If you have any questions regarding the claims process and/or if you wish to obtain a copy of the Bar Date Motion, the Bar Date Order (which contains a more detailed description of the requirements for filing proofs of claim), a General Claim Form, Administrative Claim Form, or related documents you may request them in writing from the Claims Agent. If you have any questions concerning the filing or processing of claims, you may contact the Claims Agent at 1-888-946-3502 (toll free) or via electronic mail at DavidsBridalInquiries@omniagnt.com.

[1] The debtors in these chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of each debtor's federal tax identification number, are: David's Bridal, LLC (4563); DBI Midco, Inc. (7392); DBI Holdco II, Inc. (7512); DBI Investors, Inc. (3857); David's Bridal Canada, Inc. (N/A); and Blueprint Registry, LLC (2335). The location of debtor David's Bridal, LLC's principal place of business and the debtors' service address in these chapter 11 cases is 1001 Washington Street, Conshohocken, Pennsylvania 19428.

[2] "Rejection Procedures Order" means the any order granting the *Debtors' Motion Seeking Entry of an Order (I) Authorizing and Approving Procedures to Reject Executory Contracts and Unexpired Leases, (II) Authorizing the Removal or Abandonment of Personal Property Remaining at a Rejected Location, and (III) Granting Related Relief*, which motion was filed at Docket No. 131.

[3] For the avoidance of doubt, claims originally denominated in Canadian Dollars shall be filed in United States dollars using the FX rate as of the Petition Date.

UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

In re: VOYAGER DIGITAL HOLDINGS, INC., *et al.*,[1] Debtors. — Chapter 11, Case No. 22-10943 (MEW) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF (I) ENTRY OF CORRECTED AND AMENDED ORDER (A) APPROVING THE SECOND AMENDED DISCLOSURE STATEMENT AND (B) CONFIRMINGTHE THIRD AMENDED JOINT PLAN OF VOYAGER DIGITAL HOLDINGS, INC. AND ITS DEBTOR AFFILIATES PURSUANT TO CHAPTER 11 OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE AND (II) OCCURRENCE OF EFFECTIVE DATE

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on March 8, 2023, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York (the "Court") entered *the Amended Order (I) Approving the Second Amended Disclosure Statement and (II) Confirming the Third Amended Joint Plan of Voyager Digital Holdings, Inc. and Its Debtor Affiliates Pursuant to Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code* [Docket No. 1159].

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that on March 8, 2023, the United States of America, through the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York and the United States Trustee for Region 2 filed an appeal of the Confirmation Order.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that on March 10, 2023, the Court entered the *Corrected and Amended Order (I) Approving the Second Amended Disclosure Statement and (II) Confirming the Third Amended Joint Plan of Voyager Digital Holdings, Inc. and Its Debtor Affiliates Pursuant to Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code* [Docket No. 1166] (the "Confirmation Order") whereby the Court approved the *Third Amended Joint Plan of Voyager Digital Holdings, Inc. and Its Debtor Affiliates Pursuant to Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code* [Docket No. 1166-1] (the "Plan").[2]

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that on March 27, 2023, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York entered an order extending the stay of the Confirmation Order for the pendency of the appeal [District Court Docket No. 45].

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that on April 20, 2023, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York entered an order approving the *Joint Stipulation and Order Regarding the Stay Pending Appeal* [District Court Docket No. 72] whereby the stay of the Confirmation Order was lifted except with respect to the exculpation provisions so that the Debtors may effectuate the Plan.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that on May 18, 2023, the Court entered the *Order (I) Approving the Liquidation Procedures and (II) Granting Related Relief* [Docket No. 1398].

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Effective Date of the Plan occurred on May 19, 2023. Each of the conditions precedent to consummation of the Plan enumerated in Article IX of the Plan has been satisfied or waived in accordance with the Plan and the Confirmation Order.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the terms of the Confirmation Order and the Plan (which, for the avoidance of doubt, includes the Plan Supplement and all exhibits and documents related thereto) are binding upon the Debtors, the Wind-Down Debtor, any and all Holders of Claims or Interests (irrespective of whether Holders of such Claims or Interests are deemed to have accepted the Plan); all Entities that are parties to or are subject to the settlements, compromises, releases, and injunctions described in the Plan; each Entity acquiring property under the Plan; and any and all non-Debtor parties to Executory Contracts and Unexpired Leases with the Debtors.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that, in accordance with Article IV.B. of the Plan, on the Effective Date, certain of the Debtors and other applicable parties have commenced a series of Restructuring Transactions as set forth in the Restructuring Steps Memorandum.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE THAT all requests for payment of Professional Fee Claims for services rendered and reimbursement of expenses incurred prior to the Effective Date must be filed no later than forty-five days after the Effective Date. The Bankruptcy Court shall determine the Allowed amounts of such Professional Fee Claims after notice and a hearing in accordance with the procedures established by the Bankruptcy Court.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that copies of the Plan, Confirmation Order and other papers filed in these chapter 11 cases may be obtained free of charge by visiting the website of Stretto at https://cases.stretto.com/Voyager. You may also obtain copies of the Liquidation Procedures and other papers filed in these chapter 11 cases by visiting the Court's website at http://www.nysb.uscourts.gov in accordance with the procedures and fees set forth therein.

Dated: May 19, 2023, New York, New York

/s/ Joshua A. Sussberg, **KIRKLAND & ELLIS LLP, KIRKLAND & ELLIS INTERNATIONAL LLP,** Joshua A. Sussberg, P.C., Christopher Marcus, P.C., Christine A. Okike, P.C., Allyson B. Smith (admitted *pro hac vice*), 601 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022, Telephone: (212) 446-4800, Facsimile: (212) 446-4900, Email: jsussberg@kirkland.com, cmarcus@kirkland.com, christine.okike@kirkland.com, allyson.smith@kirkland.com, *Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession*

[1] The Debtors in these chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of each Debtor's federal tax identification number, are: Voyager Digital Holdings, Inc. (7687); Voyager Digital Ltd. (7224); and Voyager Digital, LLC (8013). The location of the Debtors' principal place of business is 33 Irving Place, Suite 3060, New York, NY 10003.

[2] Capitalized terms used but not otherwise defined herein have the meanings ascribed to them in the Confirmation Order or Plan.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re: TRITEK INTERNATIONAL INC., *et al.*,[1] Debtors. — Chapter 11, Case No. 23-10520 (TMH) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF AUCTION AND SALE HEARING

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE REGARDING THE FOLLOWING:

1. On April 27, 2023, the above-captioned debtors and debtors in possession (collectively, "Debtors"), each filed a voluntary petition for relief pursuant to chapter 11 of title 11 of the United States Code (the "Bankruptcy Code") in the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the "Court").

2. Debtors are soliciting offers for the purchase of substantially all of Debtors' assets and assumption of certain liabilities of Debtors consistent with the bidding procedures (the "Bidding Procedures") approved by the Court (the "Court") by entry of an order on May 19, 2023 [Docket No. 114] (the "Bidding Procedures Order"). **All interested bidders should carefully read the Bidding Procedures and Bidding Procedures Order.** To the extent that there are any inconsistencies between this notice and the Bidding Procedures or the Bidding Procedures Order, the Bidding Procedures or the Bidding Procedures Order, as applicable, shall govern in all respects.

3. The Bid Deadline is **May 25, 2023 at 4:00 p.m. (ET)**. Any person or entity that wishes to participate in the Auction must comply with the participation requirements, bid requirements, and other requirements set forth in the Bidding Procedures. Only Qualified Bidders that have submitted Qualified Bids by the **May 25, 2023, at 4:00 p.m. (ET)** Bid Deadline are eligible to participate in the Auction, subject to the terms of the Bidding Procedures and other limitations as may reasonably be imposed by Debtors. Qualified Bidders participating in the Auction must appear at the Auction in person or through a duly authorized representative.

4. Any party in interest may attend (but not participate in) the Auction if any such party in interest provides Debtors with written notice of its intention to attend the Auction on or before the Bid Deadline, which written notice shall be sent to proposed counsel for Debtors via electronic mail, to **Jerry Hall, Esq. and Michael Comerford, Esq. at jerry.hall@katten.com and michael.comerford@katten.com**, respectively.

5. Debtors may conduct the Auction, at which time they will consider proposals submitted to Debtors and their professionals, by and pursuant to the Bidding Procedures as set forth in the Bidding Procedures Order, on **May 26, 2023 at 9:00 a.m. (ET)**, via live auction and/or remote video.

6. A hearing to consider approval of the Successful Bid (or to approve the Stalking Horse APA, as applicable, if no Auction is held) (the "Sale Hearing") shall take place on **June 2, 2023 at 10:00 a.m. (ET)**, at the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, 824 N. Market Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801. At the Sale Hearing, Debtors will present such Successful Bid to the Court for approval.

7. Objections, if any, to the Motion and the sale of the Assets to a Successful Bidder, must be filed with the Court and served upon counsel to Debtors so as to be actually received by **May 23, 2023 at 4:00 p.m. (ET)**. In each case, all objections must: (i) be in writing; (ii) conform to the applicable provisions of the Bankruptcy Rules, the Local Rules, and any orders of the Court; (iii) state with particularity the legal and factual bases for the objection and the specific grounds therefor; and (iv) be filed with the Court no later than the applicable objection deadline and served on proposed counsel to Debtors. ***Any party who fails to timely file an objection to entry of the Sale Order (i) shall be forever barred from objecting thereto, (ii) shall be deemed to consent to the sale of the Assets as approved by any Sale Order, and (iii) shall be deemed to "consent" for purposes of Section 363(f)(2) of the Bankruptcy Code.***

8. Following service of the Notice of Auction Results, as defined in the Bidding Procedures Order, parties may object to the conduct of the Auction and/or the particular terms of any proposed Sale in a Successful Bid, other than with respect to the Stalking Horse Bid (each such objection, a "Final Sale Objection"). Any Final Sale Objection shall be (i) in writing and state, with specificity, the legal and factual bases thereof and include any appropriate documentation in support thereof, (ii) be filed with the Court, and (iii) served upon the Notice Parties by no later than the later of (a) **May 30, 2023, at 4:00 p.m. (ET)** and (b) **three days prior to the Sale Hearing** (the "Final Sale Objection Deadline").

9. This notice is subject to the fuller terms and conditions of the Motion, the Bidding Procedures, and the Bidding Procedures Order. In the event of any conflict, the Bidding Procedures Order shall control, and Debtors encourage parties in interest to review such documents in their entirety. Parties interested in receiving more information regarding the Sale and/or copies of any related document, including the Motion, or the Bidding Procedures Order, may make a written request to counsel for the proposed counsel for Debtors.

10. Copies of the Motion, the Bidding Procedures Order, and the Bidding Procedures may be obtained free of charge by visiting Debtors' Case Website (https://www.donlinrecano.com/tritek).

FAILURE TO ABIDE BY THE BIDDING PROCEDURES, THE BIDDING PROCEDURES ORDER OR ANY OTHER APPLICABLE ORDER OF THE COURT ENTERED IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES MAY RESULT IN THE REJECTION OF YOUR BID AND YOUR DISQUALIFICATION FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE BIDDING FOR AND AUCTION OF ANY OF DEBTORS' ASSETS.

THE FAILURE OF ANY PERSON OR ENTITY TO FILE AND SERVE AN OBJECTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BIDDING PROCEDURES ORDER, INCLUDING THE FAILURE TO FILE ANY SUCH OBJECTION BY THE APPLICABLE OBJECTION DEADLINE, SHALL FOREVER BAR SUCH PERSON OR ENTITY FROM ASSERTING, AT THE SALE HEARING OR THEREAFTER, ANY SUCH OBJECTION TO THE RELIEF REQUESTED IN THE MOTION, THE CONSUMMATION OF ANY APPLICABLE SALE TRANSACTION, INCLUDING THE SALE OF ANY ASSETS TO A SUCCESSFUL BIDDER FREE AND CLEAR OF LIENS, CLAIMS, INTERESTS AND ENCUMBRANCES PURSUANT TO SECTION 363(F) OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE OR THE TERMS OF ANY STALKING HORSE AGREEMENT OR OTHER ASSET PURCHASE AGREEMENT EXECUTED BY DEBTORS.

[1] The Debtors in these Chapter 11 Cases, along with the last four digits of each Debtor's federal tax identification number are: Tritek International Inc. (7919); HyLife Foods Windom, LLC (5391); and Canwin Farms, LLC (3973). Debtors' mailing address is 2850 Highway 60 East, Windom, MN 56101.

Sports
The New York Times

BASEBALL

After Suspension, Padres Superstar Seeks Redemption

Since returning to the Padres, Fernando Tatis Jr. is batting .267, with seven home runs.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SEAN M. HAFFEY/GETTY IMAGES

Finally back in action, Fernando Tatis Jr. shrugs off boos, injuries and a position change.

By SCOTT MILLER

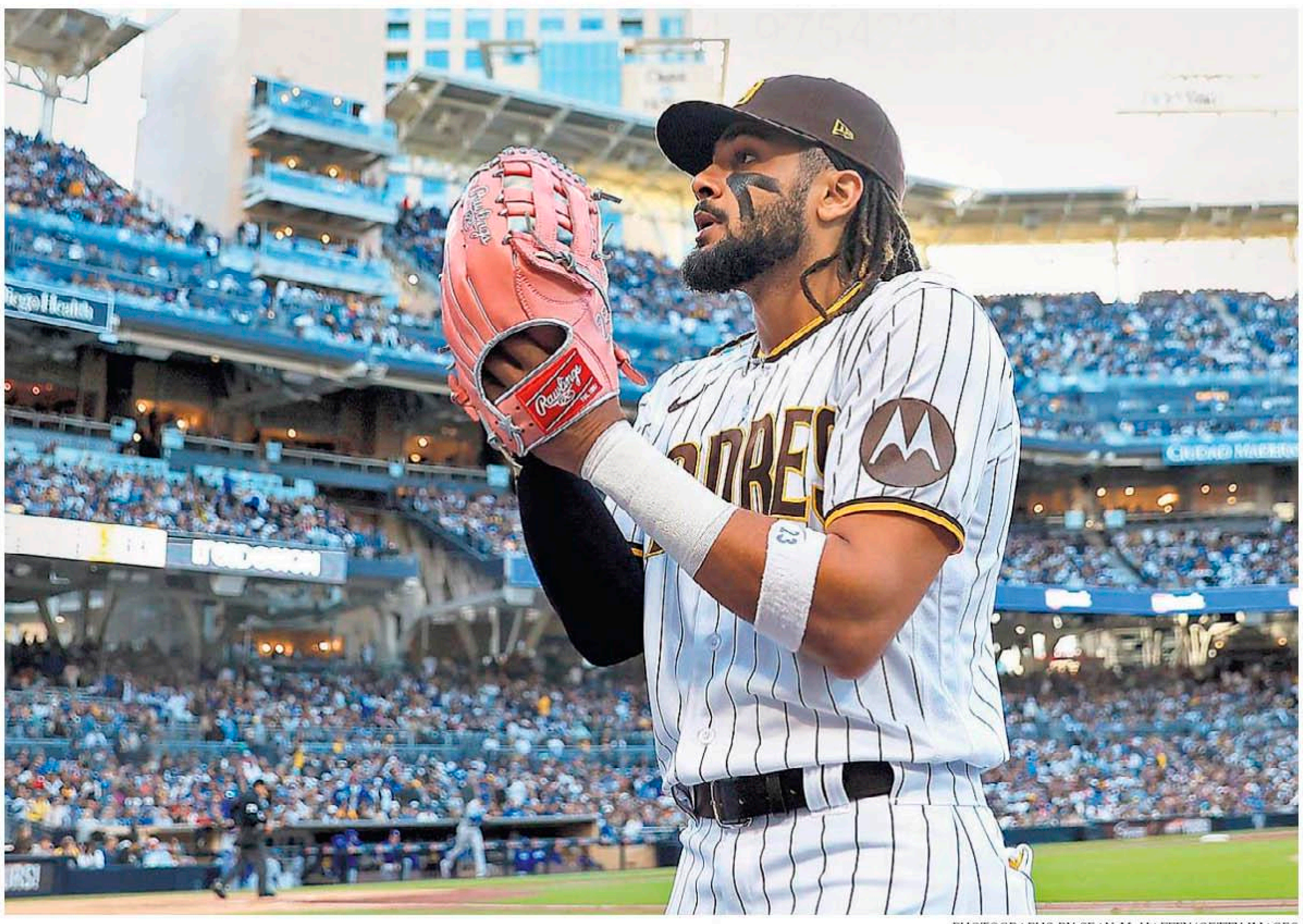
SAN DIEGO — Fernando Tatis Jr. has favored pink accessories to highlight his uniform since he made his major league debut in 2019. Be it shoelaces, sweatbands, a belt, a headband or cleats, something pink is often on display. It is a signal to his mother, as he plays the game, that she is always on his mind.

On Saturday night in San Diego, it was a pink glove that stood out in the fourth inning when he galloped across the right-field turf and, his leaping body fully extended, reached up at the last second to stab a rocket out of the evening air. With two on and two out, Boston's Triston Casas had drilled a screaming drive toward the outfield wall with an exit velocity of 108 miles per hour. It was sailing over Tatis's head . . . until it wasn't.

In so many ways, with his bat, his glove and his celebrations, it is back to business as usual for Tatis, a 24-year-old superstar whose career had spiraled out of control in more ways than one.

"It's every day now," Manager Bob Melvin said, marveling at Tatis and his tendency toward breathtaking plays. "Give him some reps, and he can play any position in any sport."

Upon his re-entry to the sport on April 20, following two surgeries and one 80-game suspension for a positive test for steroids, Tatis had not played a Major League Baseball game for more than a year. Expectations for his return were immense, but so, too, were the questions.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SEAN M. HAFFEY/GETTY IMAGES

Tatis greeting fans in San Diego this month. He could face a different reaction at Yankee Stadium this weekend.

How diluted might his game be after more than a year away? Would his surgically repaired left shoulder, which had dislocated several times in 2021, diminish his ability at the plate? Did a second operation on the right wrist he fractured in a motorcycle accident in the Dominican Republic finally get things right?

Then there were the extra-baggage questions: After the public shaming that came with a positive test for clostebol, an anabolic steroid, and his subsequent punishment, how would Tatis handle the spotlight during his return? And had he sufficiently repaired the breeched trust with his teammates?

"It was not going to be easy," Tatis said during a conversation in the Padres' clubhouse last weekend. "This is probably the hardest game in the world. I prepared myself. There is a mental grind, a physical grind. But, you know, I'm just trying to be ready all the way around."

As the Padres travel to Yankee Stadium this weekend and Tatis faces perhaps his most stern test yet in terms of public blowback, the biggest gamble in Padres history — a 14-year, $340 million contract awarded to Tatis after only 143 major league games — appears to be back on track to pay dividends. The young star is once again rising to the occasion, and people around the Padres are talking of his grace and newfound humility.

"Accountability definitely has been there for him," said Joe Musgrove, San Diego's ace starting pitcher. "And it started about 80 games ago. After the suspension, he went through a low period for a few weeks and it was understandable. But he's done a good job of putting it behind him. He's mending fences with the players, coaching staff and fans. He's forgiven himself, and moved past his mistakes.

"Some mistakes you can't fix. Some you can. This one, he can."

The tone from Musgrove, as he talked about Tatis's behavior since the suspension, was sharply different than it had been over the last two seasons as tensions routinely boiled over between Tatis, his teammates and the Padres' coaching staff. The dugout fights and questions about Tatis's maturity have, at least for now, fallen away as he has stayed out of trouble and worked to get ready for his return.

A large part of that preparation, Tatis said, involved the mental side of his game. He knew the noise would be roaring, from opponents and rival fans who would be looking for any weakness they could find. He spent significant time over the winter "having good conversations about baseball with good baseball guys," he said. "I feel like I put it all together."

The conversations started, according to Tatis, with his father, Fernando Tatis Sr., who played in the majors from 1997 to 2010. At home in the Dominican Republic, Tatis Jr. also conversed with mentors like Wilton Veras, who played briefly for the Red Sox, and with his friend Robinson Canó, the former major league star who was suspended twice for performance-enhancing drugs.

"It's always good to talk about baseball with that guy," Tatis said of Canó. "And more guys are on the list, but if I started mentioning them all, it probably wouldn't end today."

The Padres brought Tatis to their FanFest in early February specifically to check one early box: His re-entry into public life. It was a friendly, local crowd at Petco Park, but it served its purpose. Even if the suspension wasn't complete, it allowed him a foot out of the penalty box and let him focus entirely on baseball going forward.

Melvin, who was without Tatis for his first 182 games as manager of the Padres, was thrilled to pencil the young star into a lineup.

"It was a celebratory day for both of us, really," Melvin said. "He had been watching on the side for so long. And really, he was one of the reasons I came here."

Tatis, who said hitting would be the most difficult thing about his comeback, went 0 for 5 at the plate in his first game back, but he collected at least one hit in each of his next nine games. Overall he has hit .267 with seven home runs, through Tuesday, falling short of his peak standards but showing regular flashes of his old self.

The same night as his sensational catch against Boston, Tatis drilled a Chris Sale slider 440 feet into the night, giving him home runs in consecutive games for the first time in nearly two years. Four nights earlier, showing his newfound comfort in the outfield, he uncorked a perfect strike from right field clocked at 96.8 m.p.h. — on the fly — to nail Kansas City's Vinnie Pasquantino, who was attempting to go from first to third on a single.

Tatis, who came up to the majors as an error-prone but exciting shortstop, is the only outfielder in the league this season with two assists that have traveled 96 m.p.h. or faster. In Minnesota on May 10, he threw out Carlos Correa at home plate on a 100-m.p.h. laser.

'Give him some reps, and he can play any position in any sport.'
BOB MELVIN, the Padres' manager.

"It's coming out hot," said Alex Cora, Boston's manager, who noted that his Red Sox "have seen three of the most complete players in the game in the last three weeks" in Tatis, Atlanta's Ronald Acuña Jr. and Seattle's Julio Rodríguez.

Tatis's inclusion in such a group was expected after he finished fourth in the National League's Most Valuable Player Award voting in 2020 and third in 2021. But Cora delivering that praise to a player who sat out for more than a year amid numerous questions about his future demonstrated how many fences Tatis has mended.

"Overall, I don't know how anybody could handle it as quickly, and do a better job, than he has," Melvin said of Tatis's return to prominence.

Public reaction, while abrasive at times, hasn't ruffled Tatis.

When he homered during a Class AAA rehabilitation assignment in early April, the pitcher he torched, the Giants minor leaguer Kade McClure, responded by tweeting, "cheater hits a homerun on a rehab assignment during a steroid suspension." Tatis shrugged off the since-deleted message. He said he expected reactions like that and he's going to keep playing the game and enjoying himself.

True to his word, when fans in Wrigley Field serenaded him with chants of "He's on steroids!" Tatis disarmed them with a playful shimmy.

"I wouldn't say that's how I would have went about it," said center fielder Trent Grisham. "But smiles usually do diffuse hostility."

Added Melvin: "He's kind of the ultimate entertainer, right? As far as baseball goes."

Another of Tatis's counselors has been his teammate Nelson Cruz, who has the perspective of returning from his own 50-game suspension for performance-enhancing drugs back in 2013. Be yourself, Cruz advised Tatis, and just go play.

That is what Tatis did early in his career, when his flair helped vault him to celebrity status so quickly that he trailed only Mookie Betts of the Dodgers in jersey sales during the 2021 season. Whether Tatis can regain that level of popularity remains to be seen, but in barely more than a month, he seems headed in the right direction.

"I don't want to be selfish," he said when asked for an early self-assessment of his game. "Obviously, it's coming good. But I know I've got way more room to go. I feel like I'm not still at my best."

The reactions to his first trip to Dodger Stadium this month were noticeably muted — hostility there remains directed mostly at Padres infielder Manny Machado — but Tatis smiled when asked to look ahead to this weekend's visit to Yankee Stadium.

"That's going to be a good one," he said. "We'll see. New York. The good thing is, there's going to be a lot of Dominicans out there. So that's on the positive side. But it's still New York."

He chuckled as he spoke, the various pink accouterments practically glowing behind him from his locker. A 24-year-old kid who once again has his career in front of him and is eager to experience whatever Yankee Stadium has to offer.

OLYMPICS

Milan-Cortina's Chief Has Seen the Future, And It Sprawls

By ANDREW DAS

MILAN — The floor-to-ceiling windows in Andrea Varnier's 44th-floor office offer a sweeping view of Milan and some of the mountains that will host the 2026 Winter Olympics, but Varnier jokes that the panorama is not for him. He is almost never in this office, he admits. He rarely uses the desk. There is just no time to sit still, he says with a shrug.

The Milan-Cortina Winter Games are still almost three years away. But Varnier, a veteran of previous Olympics in Turin, Rio de Janeiro and Beijing, knows better than most how fast those years will go. He also knows how much work there is left to do.

What Milan-Cortina organizers and the International Olympic Committee are planning for 2026 is the most sprawling Winter Games in history: figure skating and ice hockey in Milan, the cosmopolitan hub of Italy's north; freestyle skiing and snowboarding in Livigno, close to the Swiss border; biathlon in Anterselva, a German-speaking region in the shadow of Austria; and curling, bobsled and Alpine skiing in Cortina d'Ampezzo, the site of the 1956 Winter Games.

The good news? About 90 percent of the competition venues for the Games already exist, Olympic officials said. The bad? At least two major components, the Olympic Village and the hockey arena, are still in the earliest stages of construction, and bigger projects like highways and rail links are out of the organizers' control.

In an interview last month in the office he rarely uses, Varnier, who took on the chief executive role last November, discussed managing an event spread over 8,500 square miles; how Italy's model might be the future of the Olympics; and what keeps him up at night.

This interview has been edited and condensed for clarity.

The I.O.C. has recently embraced this new kind of sprawling Olympics. Torino was big. Vancouver was big. Beijing was big. But this is bigger?

This is definitely bigger.

And so you're proposing competition clusters rather than a single site?

We have four-slash-five of those. Plus, a closing ceremony in the Roman amphitheater in Verona. Which adds an extra interesting item, but of course also an extra complication. But the idea of the Winter Games is that they must be spread out because there's no mountain city or mountain village that is able nowadays to sustain the Games.

That's why you need Milan.

You need the city. So it's always a city somewhere. And a mountain close enough to that. It gets farther and farther. So Torino. Then Vancouver. And then Beijing. Here it's different. It's a completely different concept. The idea here is to, first of all, go where the infrastructure and the experience is. So that's the way it was chosen.

So there is Milan, which is the most contemporary city we have in this country, but where there is not a specific tradition for winter sports. But it's Milano. And then we go of course to Cortina, with its history and its experience in Alpine skiing. They have a very strong tradition in curling. They have an incredible history in bobsleigh and the sliding sports. Then we go to Anterselva: That's one of the best, best recognized sites for biathlon in the world. Then we have Val di Fiemme, where Nordic sports are a very longstanding tradition. Several editions of world championships. So there is already the infrastructure. Yes, we have to modernize. But it's already there, so we don't have to build.

The bulk of the competition venues already exist, which will save on budget and time. But how do you connect all these things?

It's important that we understand that there's a new system. Because if this concept works, it will mean more opportunities for other countries to host the Games. So transportation, for example: We will do in-cluster transportation, and then we will recommend the use of public transportation between clusters as much as possible.

We're trying to rationalize the entire system for this Games, and hopefully to leave as a legacy for future potential organizing committees or candidate cities, that they can think of the Games in a larger area, to involve a larger piece of the population, to use existing infrastructure.

Is that because the I.O.C. can't ask cities or countries to spend $50 billion, as Russia did for the Sochi Games? Because nobody would want to host?

The risk is that nobody will do the Games in Europe anymore. The Winter Games. The Summer Games is a different story. And Europe, after all, it's the heart of winter sports. I mean, with all due respect to everybody: It was born here, and the Alps are the Alps.

The Games have to go everywhere, and to as many countries as possible. But if we don't find a different system, in Europe it will be extremely difficult. Because, I mean, this country is still a G7 country, and if you cannot afford the Games, then who can afford to host the Games?

When you think about setting up experiences in different places for people, it's almost as if you're running multiple Games at once.

In a way, yes. But the principle that we want is that, first of all, it's the same thread that connects everything and the experience that you live. Of course, the sports are different, but they are anyway.

How is the relationship with the I.O.C.? After Pyeongchang and Beijing, they must be quite comfortable to be back on what is familiar ground for them.

I cannot answer on behalf of the I.O.C., but it is a great comfort for us as an organizing committee, and I'm sure for them. They are very involved because they see us as an opportunity for optimization of the Winter Games. Because some of the things that we will start here may become a new norm for the future.

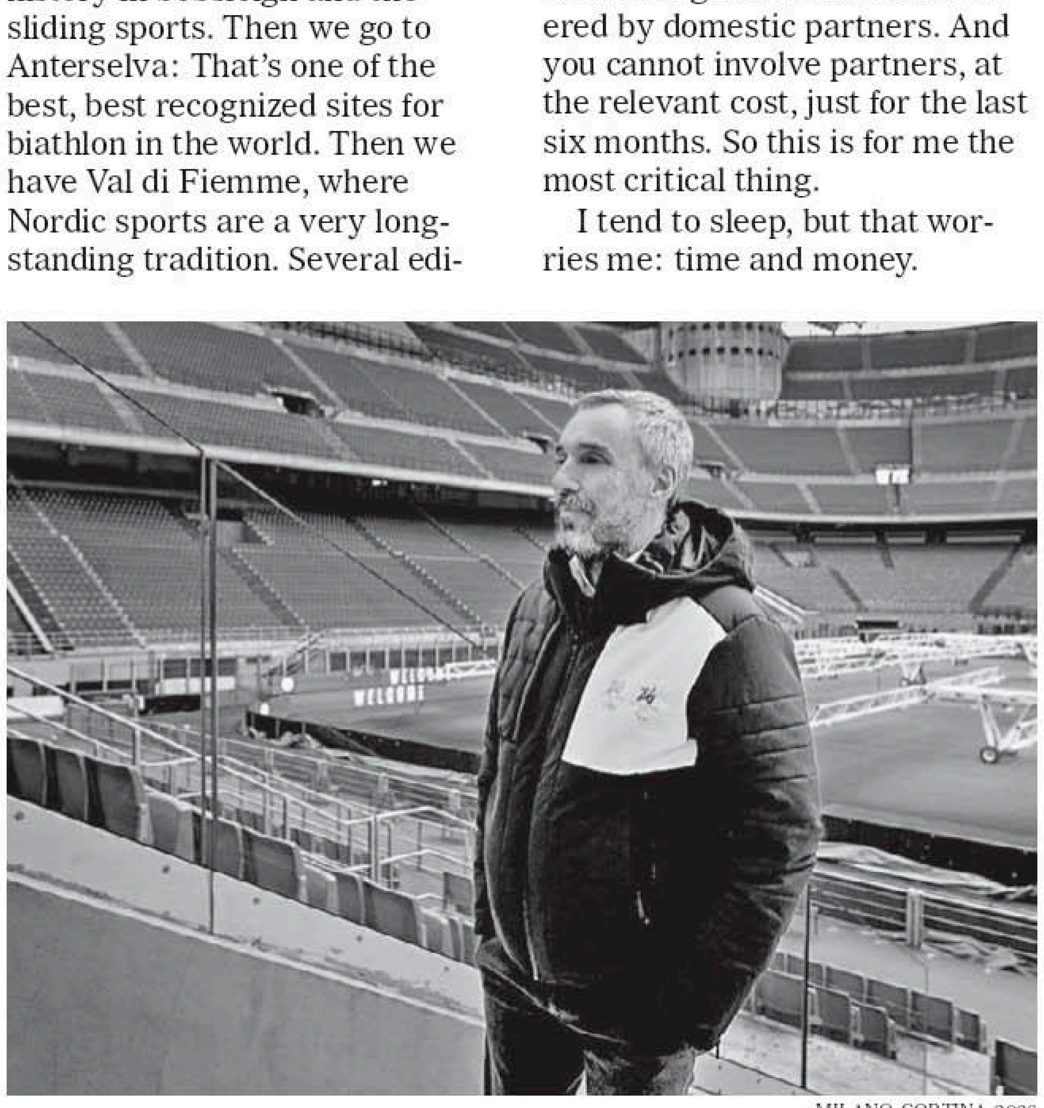
What keeps you up at night?

Oh, so many things. But mostly that time is short. We have to recover some of the time that was lost.

You have to understand that this organizing committee started in January 2020, because the assignment of the Games was in June 2019, and this country was fully closed for three and a half months, basically. And it was very difficult to start an organization like this in such a new way. And so the pandemic continued and then when it finishes the war started, so it was a difficult time. Now we don't have excuses anymore.

Another challenge is to find the companies to cover that part of the budget that has to be covered by domestic partners. And you cannot involve partners, at the relevant cost, just for the last six months. So this is for me the most critical thing.

I tend to sleep, but that worries me: time and money.



MILANO CORTINA 2026

Andrea Varnier said that "there's a new system" for the Olympics.

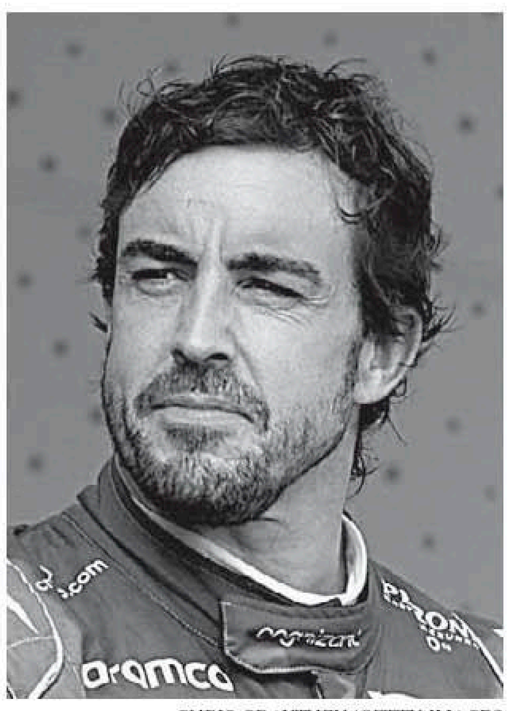
AUTO RACING

A Former Champion Tries for a Second Act

By IAN PARKES

JARED C. TILTON/GETTY IMAGES

Fernando Alonso driving for Aston Martin during qualifying for the Miami Grand Prix. Alonso, left, finished third in the race, and Aston Martin is in second place for the constructors' title.



CHRIS GRAYTHEN/GETTY IMAGES

In 2018, after 17 seasons of dedicating his life to Formula 1, Fernando Alonso had enough.

With two world titles and 32 Grand Prix victories, he walked away, albeit unfulfilled. It had been 12 years since he was crowned champion and five since he had won a race.

"When I finished, it was on a low, and I didn't want that because my performance, my competitiveness, was as high as ever back then, but people didn't see it," Alonso of Aston Martin said in an interview. "Now, I'm proving I'm still fast, at whatever age — that's part of the comeback story. Winning the 33rd Grand Prix or fighting for a championship would add even more drama to the story."

After all, he was away from the sport for two years, 2019 and 2020, but during that time he continued to race and rediscovered the joy of winning. He became World Endurance Champion with Toyota, took the checkered flag in the 24 Hours of Daytona, and he won one of the most prestigious races in the world, the 24 Hours of Le Mans. Twice.

Despite his strong start this season, it has been 10 years since Alonso, 41, last won a Grand Prix. Max Verstappen of Red Bull, the reigning two-time champion who leads this year's title race, would like to see Alonso win again.

"I think Fernando should have won a lot more races than he has done," Verstappen said. "I think he deserves a lot more. So I would be quite happy to see him win number 33. But in a way, I would also like to see him win more, so we'll see in the coming races."

Alonso returned to Formula 1 in 2021 with Alpine with moderate success, but midway through last year his star rose after Sebastian Vettel of Aston Martin, a four-time champion, announced he was retiring. Alonso, an old friend of Lawrence Stroll, the team owner, quickly agreed to a deal.

"I received a phone call from Lawrence asking if I was already committed to Alpine," Alonso said. "I said not yet. My conversations with Alpine were quite advanced, but I didn't have anything on paper.

"He said if I send you something on paper today, you will consider it. He sent it, I was happy, and as I had nothing from the other side, it was an easy decision. Everything was quicker thanks to that relationship over the years."

In an interview, Stroll said he was determined to get Alonso for several reasons. "He is clearly one of the greatest drivers to ever be in Formula 1, and his motivation has never been higher.

"When I spoke to him, he said, 'Listen, I can bring something to this team in my last few years I'm going to drive and hopefully have some sort of role within Aston Martin for many years to come after when I stop driving.' When he said that, I did not need a lot of convincing."

The agreement was built on a friendship forged when Alonso first met Stroll and his then 12-year-old son, Lance, at a go-karting event in Canada in 2011.

Lance Stroll was a member of the Ferrari Driver Academy and Alonso was in his second season of five with the team. Now they are teammates at Aston Martin.

"I wouldn't say we had a relationship back when I was 12," the younger Stroll said. "I was just a fanboy. But yeah, there's a great dynamic in the team at the moment. I definitely enjoy working alongside him. He's incredibly talented, knowledgeable, experienced and hungry to get the most out of himself every day."

Alonso said he remembered first meeting his teammate, saying it's "fun to look back on now. I also remember in my last year with Ferrari in 2014, I stayed at Lawrence's house in north Canada, after the race in Montreal. I was there training for a week.

"I've also visited Lawrence in Monaco on his yacht in the past, and we have had dinner, so we have this kind of relationship, and we have always been in contact."

Alonso said it made it easy for him and Stroll to turn their friendship into "a professional partnership."

Stroll purchased the team in 2018 when it was known as Force India, rebranding it as Racing Point. Two and a half years later, he bought a major stake in the Aston Martin car company, allowing him to return the brand to Formula 1 in 2021 after a 61-year absence.

That year, he said he expected the team to challenge for the world title in five years, helped by the construction of a new factory and wind tunnel at a cost of "over $250 million," he said. Staff has increased from "350 people to about 780 today."

Moving into the factory is imminent. The wind tunnel, which will allow the team to aerodynamically test a scale model of a Formula 1 car, will open next spring.

With Alonso's performance, the results are ahead of forecast, with the team in second place for the constructors' title.

"When we signed that agreement last year in early August, Fernando didn't know the car was going to be as quick as this," Lawrence Stroll said. "But he did know about all the passion I've put in, the great people I've hired, the great facilities I was building, and he wanted to be a part of it. He believed."

Alonso has been surprised by how quickly he has achieved results. "I trusted the project and felt it was a nice adventure for me at the end of my career, to start with a team that has so much enthusiasm and good prospects," he said.

Fernando Alonso looks for a victory 10 years after his last one.

"But I thought it would take time to reach a certain level," he added, "that maybe in 2024 we can fight for podiums. I was not expecting the car would deliver the kind of performance we have now."

A second retirement and a role with Aston Martin beyond that are far from his thoughts. Alonso is having too much fun again. "I'm aware of my age," he said. "I know I will not be here for the next 10 years, or whatever, so maybe when I stop racing, I will be linked to the team somehow."

He is hopeful that when that day comes again, his wait for win number 33 will be over.

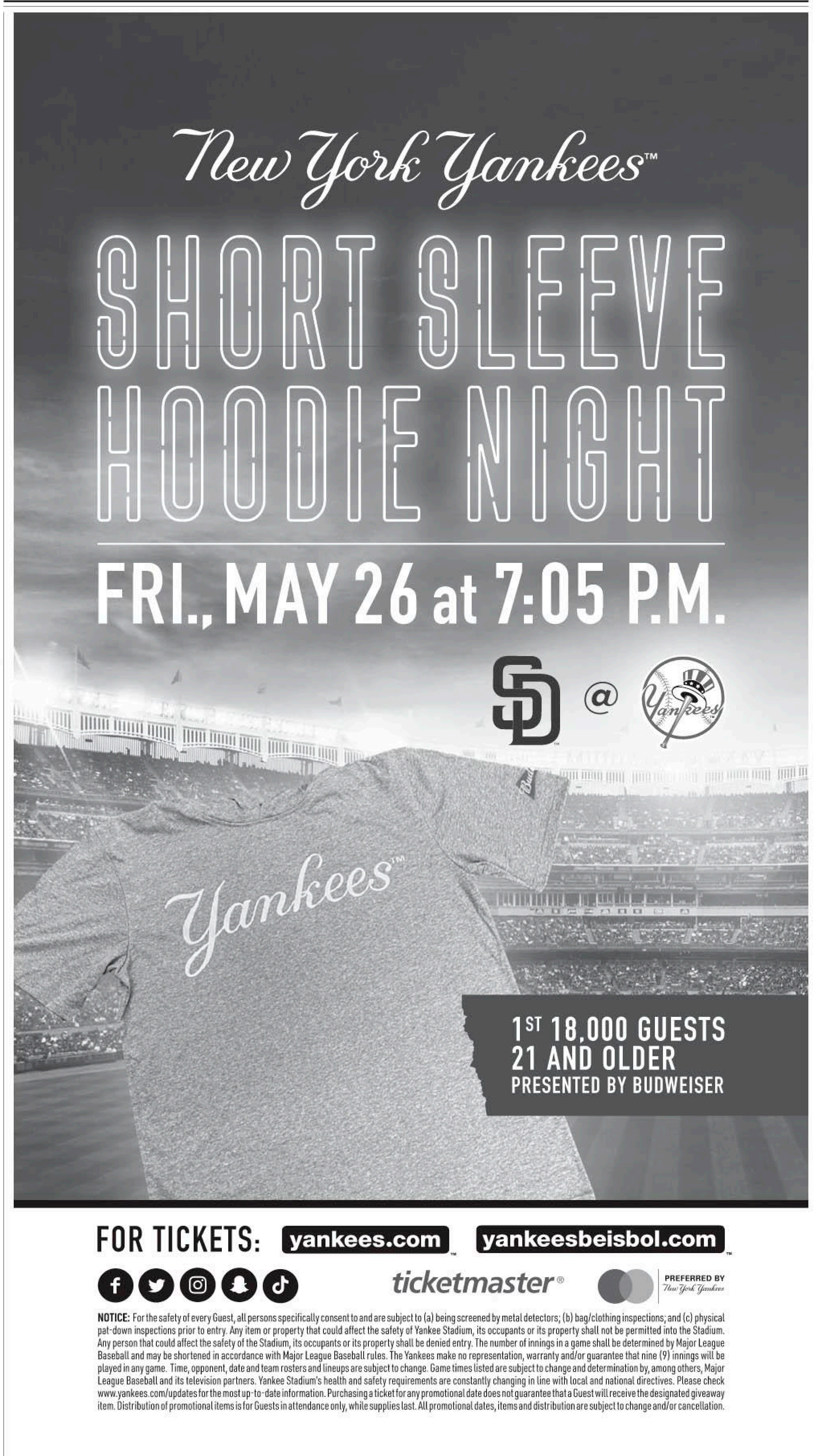
"Winning a championship would be a perfect thing," Alonso said. "If I win another championship all these years since my previous one, that would be unprecedented, that kind of distance between two championships. That is my goal at the moment.

"Or the legacy that I want to leave in this sport, of someone who loves it so much that I kept racing for many years, keeping the level as high as possible. That would prove a point, something that was a part of my comeback."

The team owner is unsurprised that although Alonso is in his 40s, his desire and fitness are strong.

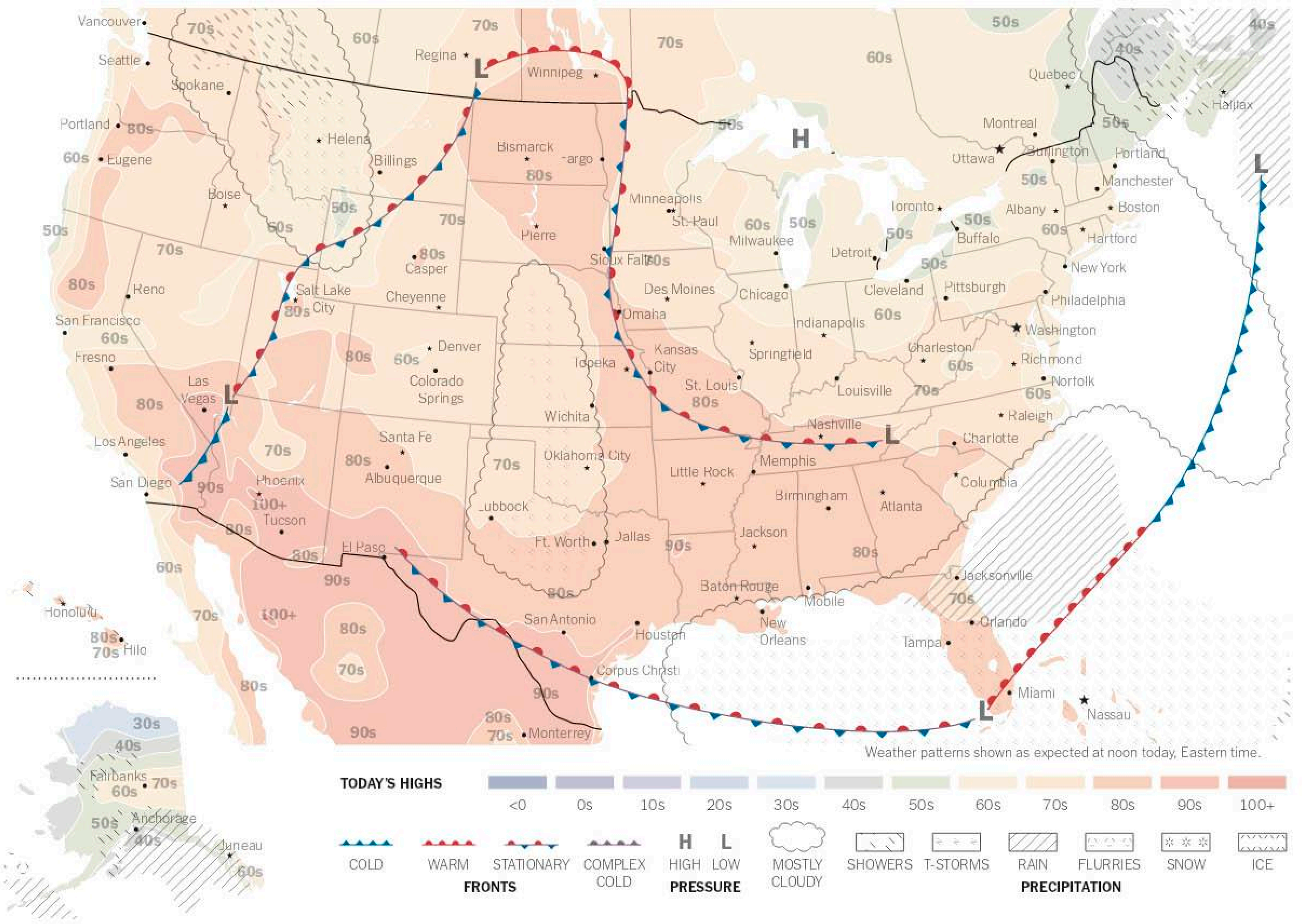
"These guys are gladiators," Stroll said. "The conditioning he has kept himself in physically and mentally and his motivation levels are higher than ever. He's absolutely determined to win. The guy is just a big motivation ball. He's picking everybody up, saying, 'Come on, we're going to win.'"

Another win, another title are motivations, but he has another desire. "I want to have a family," said Alonso, who is divorced and has no children. "This is my biggest dream in life. I've still not succeeded in that because of my way of living. That's something that when I stop racing, where I will find my happiness."



Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Weather patterns shown as expected at noon today, Eastern time.

Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY ....Mostly sunny, breezy

High 67. Mostly sunny sky as high pressure returns to the area. Additionally, the sky will be less hazy. Temperatures will be lower than usual for late May.

TONIGHT ....Clear

Low 53. The sky will stay clear as high pressure remains. The overnight low temperature will be below average. Winds will be at 4 to 8 miles per hour.

TOMORROW ....Mostly sunny

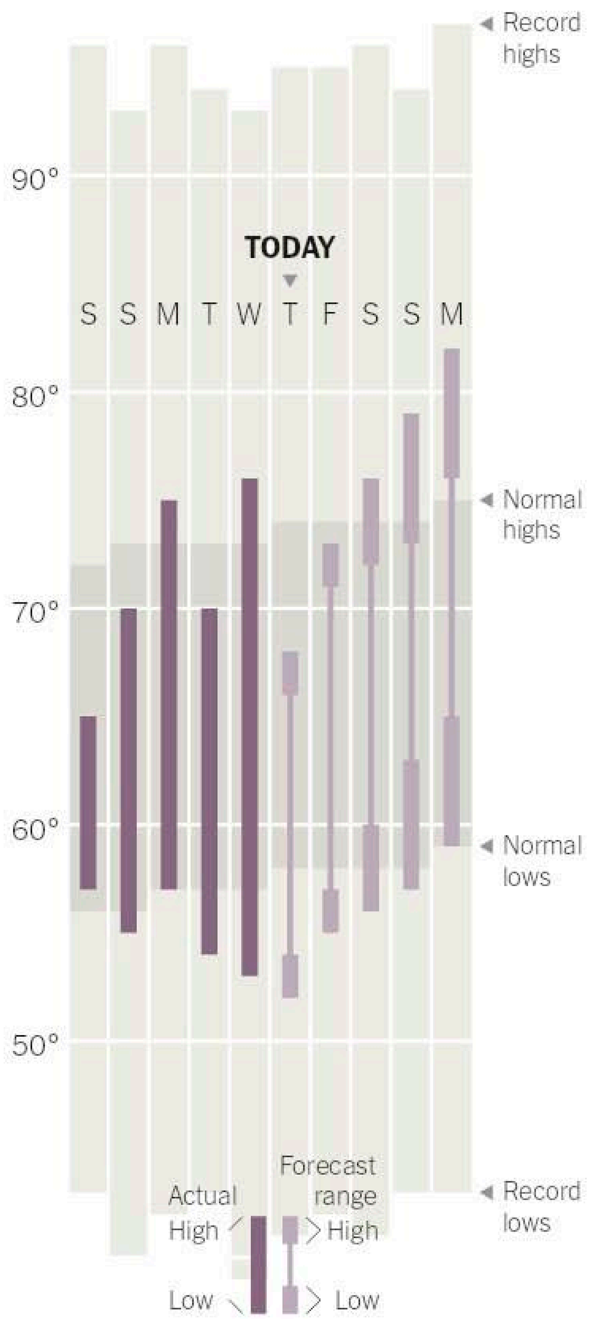
High 72. The sky will remain mostly sunny, with a few clouds expected to move through the area during the day. The high will be near average. Winds will be at 4 to 8 m.p.h.

SATURDAY ....Plenty of sunshine

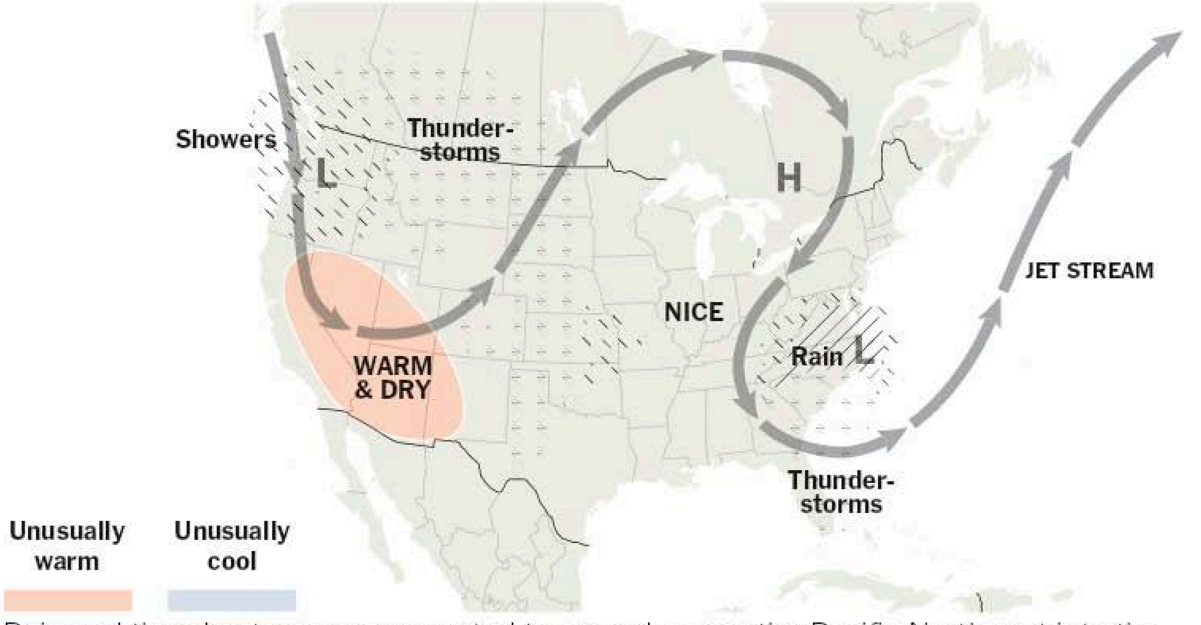
The area of high pressure will stay in place, resulting in a partly sunny sky. The high will be just above the average.

SUNDAY
MONDAY ....Clouds and sunshine

For Sunday, intervals of clouds and sunshine are anticipated. High 76. For Monday, expect similar conditions to Saturday. High 79.



Highlight: The Weekend Outlook



Rain and thunderstorms are expected to spread across the Pacific Northwest into the Intermountain West and down through the Plains this weekend. A storm along the Southeast coast will develop, allowing for downpours and thunderstorms into the region.

National Forecast

High pressure from Canada will bring dry, cool and generally sunny conditions from the Midwest to the Northeast today. This system may be key in keeping wet and stormy conditions at bay in the Southern States for much of the Memorial Day weekend. That storm will slowly brew over off the southern Atlantic coast with the steadiest rain offshore of the Carolinas.

Drenching and gusty thunderstorms will rumble over the Florida Peninsula. Seas and surf will remain rough throughout the area. Rain and gusty winds will push northwest by the weekend and could be made worse by any tropical activity.

Farther west, more severe thunderstorms will erupt from Nebraska to western Texas. A few storms will develop across the interior West as the Pacific Coast stays dry.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature

Avg. daily departure from normal this month.............. -0.3°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +4.3°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 98%
Est. normal 100%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 2.07

For the last 30 days
Actual 6.31
Normal 3.84

For the last 365 days
Actual 46.21
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High .... 30.23 1 a.m.
Low .... 29.96 4 p.m.

Humidity
High .... 58% 1 a.m.
Low .... 34% noon

Cooling Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday 0
So far this month 35
So far this season (since January 1) 76
Normal to date for the season 55

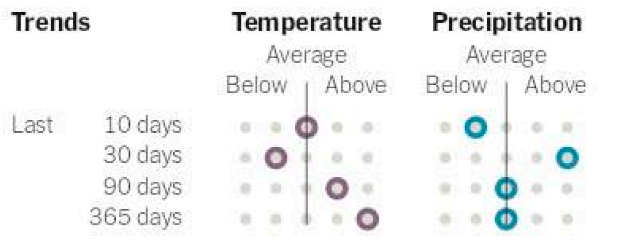


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter	New
May 27	June 3 11:42 p.m.	June 10	June 18 12:37 a.m.

Sun	**RISE** 5:31 a.m.		**Moon**	S	12:58 a.m.
	SET 8:15 p.m.			R	10:26 a.m.
	NEXT R 5:30 a.m.			S	1:28 a.m.
Jupiter	R	4:03 a.m.	**Mars**	R	9:45 a.m.
	S	5:27 p.m.		S	12:27 a.m.
Saturn	R	1:54 a.m.	**Venus**	R	8:31 a.m.
	S	12:48 p.m.		S	11:47 p.m.

Boating

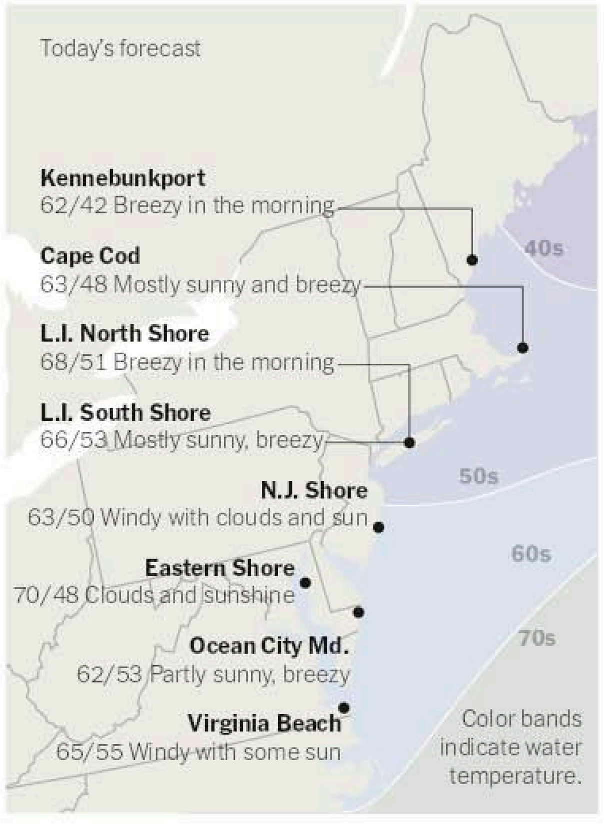
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the north at 10-15 knots. Waves will be 1-2 feet on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 2-4 feet on the ocean. Visibility will generally be unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	12:35 p.m.	---
Barnegat Inlet	12:04 a.m.	12:53 p.m.
The Battery	12:47 a.m.	1:46 p.m.
Beach Haven	1:33 a.m.	2:26 p.m.
Bridgeport	3:48 a.m.	4:27 p.m.
City Island	3:35 a.m.	4:38 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	1:01 a.m.	1:54 p.m.
Montauk Point	1:49 a.m.	2:23 p.m.
Northport	3:47 a.m.	4:27 p.m.
Port Washington	3:30 a.m.	4:15 p.m.
Sandy Hook	12:15 a.m.	1:08 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	12:01 a.m.	12:36 p.m.
Stamford	3:46 a.m.	4:27 p.m.
Tarrytown	2:36 a.m.	3:35 p.m.
Willets Point	3:34 a.m.	4:37 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



Dry conditions will remain in place across the Northeast during the daytime hours. The sky will be mostly sunny throughout much of New England and down to the Jersey Shore. Clouds will build over the region, especially down to the Delmarva Peninsula where they will be thickest.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	**S**	Sun
F	Fog	**Sn**	Snow
H	Haze	**SS**	Snow showers
I	Ice	**T**	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	**Tr**	Trace
R	Rain	**W**	Windy
Sh	Showers	**–**	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	76/ 53 0	66/ 51 S	72/ 56 S
Bridgeport	69/ 49 0	67/ 48 S	70/ 52 S
Caldwell	80/ 44 0	71/ 43 S	74/ 48 S
Danbury	78/ 44 0	67/ 40 S	72/ 44 S
Islip	69/ 49 0	67/ 49 S	71/ 49 S
Newark	78/ 51 0	71/ 51 S	76/ 53 S
Trenton	79/ 46 0	70/ 46 S	73/ 48 S
White Plains	75/ 46 0	67/ 45 S	71/ 51 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	77/ 42 0.24	66/ 41 S	72/ 48 PC
Albuquerque	85/ 59 0	85/ 59 S	86/ 58 S
Anchorage	55/ 44 0.05	51/ 46 R	54/ 40 C
Atlanta	79/ 60 0	83/ 62 S	79/ 58 PC
Atlantic City	67/ 53 0	63/ 51 W	65/ 52 PC
Austin	85/ 63 0.13	86/ 63 PC	87/ 64 PC
Baltimore	83/ 55 0	73/ 51 PC	76/ 52 PC
Baton Rouge	86/ 65 0	88/ 64 S	89/ 66 S
Birmingham	81/ 60 0.10	84/ 60 S	80/ 60 PC
Boise	77/ 53 0.00	79/ 56 T	79/ 54 PC
Boston	71/ 48 0	64/ 50 S	66/ 52 S
Buffalo	66/ 39 0.06	61/ 43 S	69/ 47 S
Burlington	62/ 42 0.30	64/ 45 PC	68/ 48 S
Casper	77/ 48 0.10	79/ 50 T	76/ 45 T
Charlotte	79/ 54 0	80/ 58 PC	73/ 53 C
Chattanooga	85/ 59 0	85/ 62 S	78/ 59 T
Chicago	70/ 47 0	64/ 48 S	71/ 50 S
Cincinnati	83/ 50 0	70/ 49 S	76/ 53 S
Cleveland	74/ 45 0	60/ 43 W	68/ 50 S
Colorado Springs	65/ 51 0.13	72/ 51 T	73/ 48 T
Columbus	81/ 46 0	69/ 48 S	75/ 51 S
Concord, N.H.	76/ 39 0.40	67/ 37 S	68/ 39 S
Dallas-Ft. Worth	82/ 67 0.09	86/ 67 PC	86/ 67 PC
Denver	73/ 50 0.10	76/ 52 T	74/ 51 T
Des Moines	86/ 57 0	78/ 51 PC	79/ 52 S
Detroit	68/ 42 0	66/ 43 S	71/ 50 S
El Paso	96/ 68 0	97/ 71 S	97/ 70 S
Fargo	76/ 58 0.03	86/ 62 S	88/ 63 S
Hartford	78/ 45 0.09	69/ 42 S	73/ 47 S
Honolulu	86/ 74 0.06	86/ 72 Sh	85/ 75 PC
Houston	89/ 69 0.05	88/ 69 PC	90/ 68 PC
Indianapolis	86/ 50 0	70/ 47 S	75/ 55 S
Jackson	79/ 59 0	86/ 61 S	87/ 61 S
Jacksonville	78/ 64 1.60	77/ 66 R	71/ 57 Sh
Kansas City	82/ 62 0.04	83/ 58 C	79/ 53 S
Key West	86/ 76 1.09	86/ 76 T	85/ 76 T
Las Vegas	95/ 70 0	92/ 67 PC	90/ 68 S
Lexington	84/ 54 0	73/ 52 S	77/ 56 PC
Little Rock	85/ 65 0	88/ 65 S	82/ 58 S
Los Angeles	70/ 56 0	69/ 54 C	68/ 55 PC
Louisville	86/ 59 0	75/ 54 S	78/ 60 PC
Memphis	85/ 65 0	88/ 62 S	80/ 61 S
Miami	85/ 73 0.33	87/ 72 T	86/ 72 T
Milwaukee	57/ 47 0	59/ 45 S	67/ 49 S
Mpls.-St. Paul	76/ 53 0	76/ 51 S	79/ 56 S
Nashville	85/ 61 0	83/ 56 S	82/ 60 T
New Orleans	85/ 71 0.04	87/ 70 S	88/ 71 S
Norfolk	69/ 58 0	65/ 56 PC	66/ 56 C
Oklahoma City	78/ 62 0.05	78/ 62 C	80/ 61 T
Omaha	88/ 63 0	83/ 57 C	83/ 55 S
Orlando	80/ 67 0.38	80/ 67 T	78/ 61 T
Philadelphia	80/ 53 0	70/ 53 S	74/ 55 PC
Phoenix	99/ 73 0	99/ 71 S	97/ 72 S
Pittsburgh	79/ 43 0	68/ 44 S	73/ 49 S
Portland, Me.	60/ 45 0.10	62/ 43 PC	61/ 43 PC
Portland, Ore.	77/ 53 0	84/ 58 PC	85/ 57 PC
Providence	70/ 47 0	67/ 46 S	71/ 49 S
Raleigh	79/ 52 0	74/ 55 C	71/ 54 C
Reno	74/ 51 0	74/ 53 T	70/ 51 PC
Richmond	79/ 55 0	71/ 50 PC	73/ 51 PC
Rochester	65/ 41 0.34	59/ 39 S	68/ 44 S
Sacramento	80/ 51 0	78/ 53 PC	75/ 54 PC
Salt Lake City	85/ 60 0	82/ 61 T	81/ 59 T
San Antonio	87/ 67 0.07	88/ 68 PC	89/ 68 PC
San Diego	66/ 58 0	66/ 56 C	68/ 57 PC
San Francisco	66/ 53 0	64/ 54 PC	66/ 56 PC
San Jose	71/ 53 0	69/ 53 PC	71/ 54 PC
San Juan	86/ 76 0.06	90/ 76 T	91/ 76 T
Seattle	70/ 53 0	77/ 57 PC	78/ 51 PC
Sioux Falls	85/ 62 0	81/ 57 S	82/ 56 S
Spokane	70/ 49 0	74/ 54 PC	77/ 56 PC
St. Louis	88/ 65 0	80/ 53 S	77/ 58 S
St. Thomas	86/ 77 0.06	88/ 78 PC	88/ 79 PC
Syracuse	69/ 40 0.10	63/ 41 S	70/ 45 S
Tampa	82/ 70 0.32	85/ 69 T	85/ 65 T
Toledo	78/ 44 0	66/ 45 S	72/ 48 S
Tucson	95/ 64 0	97/ 64 S	95/ 62 S
Tulsa	80/ 62 0.22	84/ 61 PC	84/ 61 T
Virginia Beach	68/ 59 Tr	65/ 55 W	67/ 57 W
Washington	83/ 57 0	73/ 54 PC	75/ 54 PC
Wichita	83/ 61 0.04	79/ 62 C	81/ 58 T
Wilmington, Del.	83/ 55 0	73/ 50 S	75/ 51 PC

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	73/ 57 0.14	74/ 58 Sh	78/ 61 S
Cairo	93/ 71 0	93/ 72 S	90/ 75 C
Cape Town	64/ 48 0	58/ 47 R	61/ 43 PC
Dakar	82/ 73 0	85/ 75 W	83/ 75 W
Johannesburg	71/ 48 0	73/ 47 PC	68/ 51 C
Nairobi	80/ 60 0.10	79/ 58 PC	76/ 57 PC
Tunis	76/ 62 0	74/ 62 PC	77/ 61 S

Asia/ Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	99/ 80 0	104/ 74 S	104/ 77 PC
Bangkok	99/ 81 0.10	99/ 82 T	100/ 82 R
Beijing	84/ 62 0	80/ 58 C	91/ 67 PC
Damascus	91/ 50 0	87/ 53 W	86/ 59 W
Hong Kong	85/ 78 0.18	89/ 80 T	90/ 80 T
Jakarta	90/ 77 0	91/ 78 S	90/ 77 T
Jerusalem	83/ 60 0	80/ 57 S	80/ 63 PC
Karachi	95/ 84 0	95/ 84 W	97/ 84 W
Manila	93/ 77 0.27	91/ 79 T	90/ 80 T
Mumbai	91/ 83 0	93/ 84 PC	95/ 84 PC
New Delhi	92/ 82 0	91/ 72 C	91/ 72 T
Riyadh	96/ 80 0	103/ 83 PC	105/ 82 S
Seoul	77/ 54 0	79/ 61 PC	76/ 62 PC
Shanghai	67/ 61 0	80/ 69 S	88/ 71 PC
Singapore	90/ 79 0.19	90/ 80 T	87/ 78 T
Sydney	74/ 45 0	76/ 54 PC	60/ 46 Sh
Taipei City	84/ 69 0.10	88/ 73 PC	88/ 73 PC
Tehran	95/ 71 0	95/ 74 C	84/ 71 T
Tokyo	73/ 57 0.04	73/ 62 PC	75/ 63 PC

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	59/ 44 0	63/ 44 PC	62/ 44 S
Athens	77/ 58 0	76/ 60 T	77/ 64 T
Berlin	60/ 46 0	70/ 46 PC	67/ 44 S
Brussels	62/ 41 0	66/ 44 PC	65/ 44 S
Budapest	77/ 60 0	78/ 58 PC	76/ 55 T
Copenhagen	64/ 50 0.04	63/ 47 S	62/ 46 S
Dublin	63/ 43 0	64/ 45 PC	64/ 45 PC
Edinburgh	64/ 45 0	65/ 45 S	65/ 50 PC
Frankfurt	60/ 46 0	72/ 51 PC	71/ 49 S
Geneva	66/ 57 0	68/ 52 C	75/ 54 T
Helsinki	75/ 41 0	65/ 42 Sh	54/ 38 C
Istanbul	68/ 58 0	73/ 58 PC	74/ 60 PC
Kyiv	77/ 55 0	79/ 59 T	78/ 60 PC
Lisbon	79/ 59 0	80/ 59 PC	71/ 59 T
London	70/ 49 0	70/ 46 S	68/ 45 S
Madrid	77/ 54 0.28	78/ 57 T	68/ 54 T
Moscow	70/ 55 0.04	74/ 56 T	75/ 54 Sh
Nice	71/ 63 0	71/ 63 T	76/ 65 PC
Oslo	70/ 46 0	69/ 43 PC	67/ 40 S
Paris	66/ 47 0	71/ 52 PC	72/ 52 S
Prague	58/ 47 0	68/ 48 PC	69/ 43 S
Rome	75/ 56 0	76/ 57 T	78/ 58 T
St. Petersburg	75/ 51 0	75/ 51 PC	63/ 44 S
Stockholm	73/ 43 0	63/ 46 C	58/ 37 PC
Vienna	70/ 56 0.05	72/ 53 PC	73/ 50 PC
Warsaw	77/ 57 0.21	74/ 55 T	72/ 47 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	90/ 77 0	90/ 76 T	91/ 77 T
Bermuda	76/ 70 1.22	79/ 72 PC	79/ 73 R
Edmonton	64/ 41 0	66/ 44 C	74/ 49 S
Guadalajara	92/ 61 0	93/ 60 PC	94/ 62 S
Havana	86/ 69 0.32	87/ 67 T	87/ 68 T
Kingston	88/ 79 0.14	89/ 80 S	89/ 80 S
Martinique	91/ 76 0.10	89/ 78 C	89/ 78 C
Mexico City	78/ 59 0.06	81/ 57 T	81/ 55 Sh
Monterrey	90/ 69 0	89/ 69 PC	85/ 68 T
Montreal	62/ 52 0.86	65/ 47 PC	71/ 53 PC
Nassau	84/ 74 0.15	84/ 74 T	85/ 74 T
Panama City	90/ 75 0.06	89/ 75 T	87/ 75 R
Quebec City	55/ 49 0.27	59/ 41 PC	68/ 45 C
Santo Domingo	84/ 73 0.16	89/ 75 PC	91/ 76 PC
Toronto	61/ 55 0.05	62/ 44 S	70/ 49 S
Vancouver	64/ 50 0	70/ 55 PC	69/ 55 S
Winnipeg	63/ 48 0	85/ 62 W	86/ 64 W

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	70/ 64 0.62	70/ 61 T	70/ 52 Sh
Caracas	93/ 75 0.29	89/ 75 T	89/ 75 T
Lima	77/ 67 0	76/ 68 PC	75/ 68 PC
Quito	66/ 47 0.25	66/ 50 T	62/ 48 Sh
Recife	81/ 75 0.72	84/ 76 Sh	85/ 76 R
Rio de Janeiro	81/ 69 0	80/ 69 PC	80/ 70 S
Santiago	59/ 45 0	59/ 41 C	65/ 44 PC

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A funeral, a demon and secrets. BY MAYA PHILLIPS

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Disney adapts a seminal graphic novel for a changing world. BY MIKE HALE

Gabriella Smith is striving to balance her interest in the environment with her thriving career in the world of classical music.

ALEX WELSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Composer At Home In Nature

Gabriella Smith, above, in the garden at the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles. Her cello concerto "Lost Coast" is premiering with the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

By JOSHUA BARONE

LOS ANGELES — In 2014, the composer Gabriella Smith took a hike through the Lost Coast in Northern California. Populated by bears, mountain lions and Roosevelt elk, it's an area so rugged that the scenic Highway 1, which runs along the water, has to detour far inland. She kept a tide log on hand for portions of the trail that follow the shore. "You have to be careful," she said, "not to be swept away."

The wildness surprised her. "I felt so much awe being there," Smith said. And she liked the sound of the name: the poetry of the words "lost" and "coast" together, the multiple meanings it suggests. It was, as John Adams, one of her mentors, would say, a title in search of a piece.

She wrote a cello solo with looping electronics for Gabriel Cabezas, a friend and former classmate at the Curtis Institute of Music, inspired by the image of a trail being repeatedly washed away. Then the piece transformed into a more complex, layered recording, released in 2021. And now "Lost Coast" is taking on yet another life, its grandest yet: a cello concerto, premiering on Thursday with Cabezas and the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

This work and its trajectory are a lot like Smith's career. At 31, she prefers to write for people she has a relationship with, even as she receives increasingly prominent commissions. Here and elsewhere, her music, in addition to its fascination with the natural world, exudes inventiveness with a wel-

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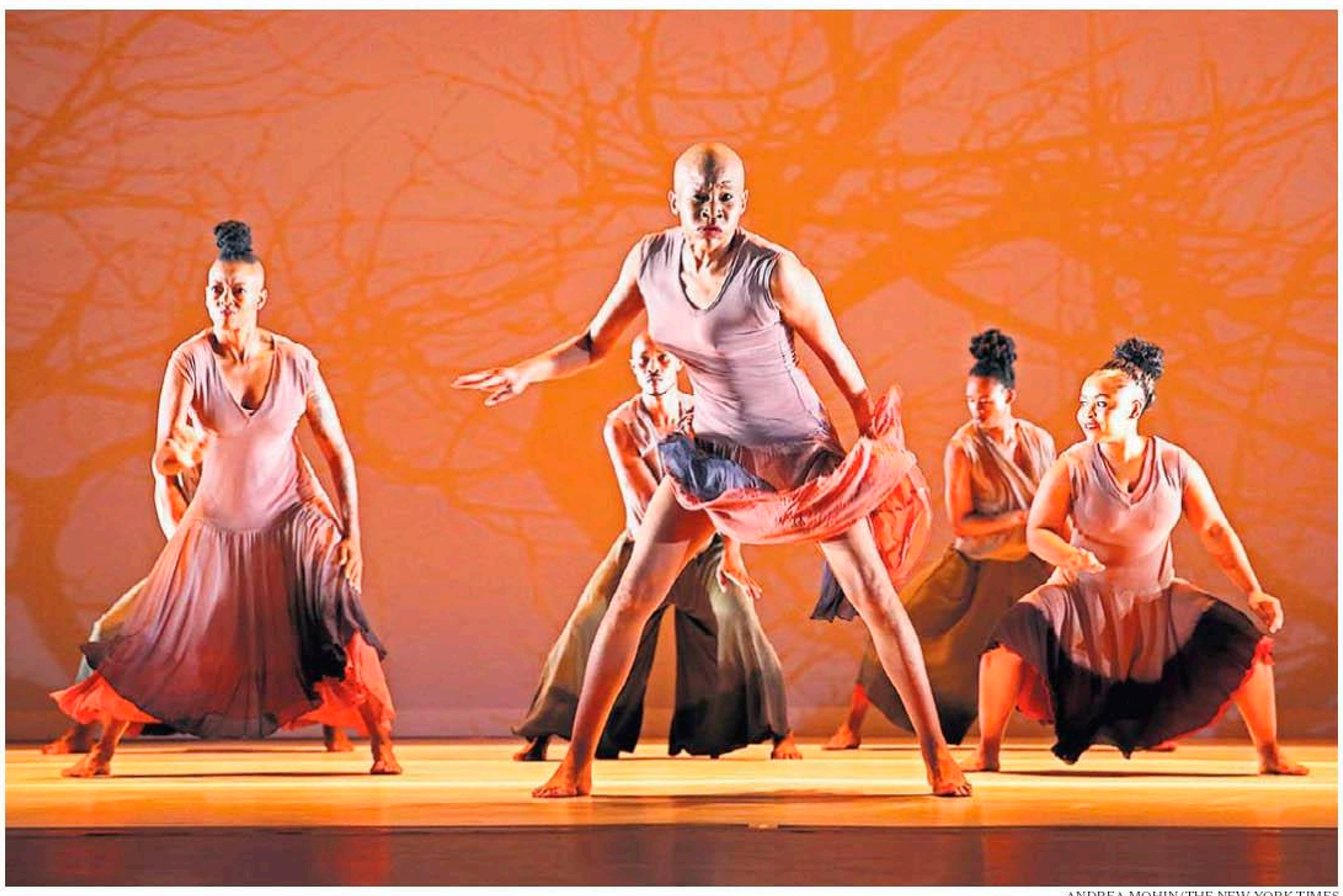


ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dancing for Today, Nodding to the Past

'The Sacrifice,' at the Joyce, by the South African choreographer Dada Masilo, center, responds to Pina Bausch's 'The Rite of Spring' from 1975. Review, Page 7.

Writer's Shift of Focus From Suffering to Healing

The clinical psychologist Kay Redfield Jamison writes a cultural history of recovery.

By CASEY SCHWARTZ

Kay Redfield Jamison arrives punctually at a towering marble statue of Jesus in the entrance of the old hospital building on Johns Hopkins Medical Campus. Next to it, two guest books are left open to receive the wishes and prayers of those who pass through these halls. "Dear God please help our daughter feel better. . . . " "Dear Lord, please heal my grandpa and let him live happily. . . . "

This building, decorated with rows of oil paintings of Hopkins doctors and nurses through the ages, is redolent of the history of healing. The desperate, uncertain, even heroic attempt to heal is at the center of Jamison's new book, "Fires in the Dark: Healing the Unquiet Mind," published this week by Knopf.

"If I could have subtitled it 'A Love Song to Psychotherapy,' I would have," she said.

Jamison, 76, her blond hair cut into a bob, wears a colorful floral dress as she makes

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

SCHAUN CHAMPION FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kay Redfield Jamison, whose new book, "Fires in the Dark: Healing the Unquiet Mind," was published on Tuesday.

SCHAUN CHAMPION FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shift of Focus From Suffering to Healing

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

her way through hallways filled with people in scrubs to a quiet corridor reserved for psychiatry. She is a co-director of the Center for Mood Disorders and a professor of psychiatry. Her bookcase displays her many publications: her psychobiography of the poet Robert Lowell, which was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize, and her books on suicide, on exuberance and on the connection between mania and artistic genius. And, of course, her best-known work, "An Unquiet Mind," a memoir she published in 1995 in which she went public with her own manic depression, at considerable personal cost.

Jamison had been a thriving, sporty high school senior in the Pacific Palisades neighborhood of Los Angeles until suddenly, falling into a deep depression after a mild mania, "I couldn't count on my mind being on my side," she said. She was bewildered by what she was going through. Her high school English teacher handed her a book of poems by Robert Lowell, who had struggled all his life with manic depression, and with whom she felt an instant connection. That same teacher also gave her "Sherston's Progress," by the English poet Siegfried Sassoon. More than 50 years later, Sassoon's book would become one of the central inspirations for "Fires in the Dark."

Jamison's symptoms subsided, and she made her way through college, then a Ph.D. program in clinical psychology. By the time she had a full manic break, she was 28 and an assistant professor of psychiatry at the University of California, Los Angeles. This time, she had no choice but to seek help: In a psychotic state, she had racked up tens of thousands of dollars in debt, buying items like ultramodern furniture and a lifetime supply of snakebite kits.

When she first walked into the office of her psychiatrist, Daniel Auerbach, she was shaking in fear. "I had no idea whether I would be able to work again," she said.

He diagnosed her with manic depression (she still prefers this term to the more current "bipolar disorder") and prescribed her lithium, and their years of work together began. He never claimed that their task would be a simple one, she said. The proviso that getting well would be hard is one of the principles of healing that Jamison now holds dear.

"You say to someone, look, it's going to be difficult — but that's the interesting part," she said. "Because, at the end of it, you will have survived something, you will have created something and you will go into the rest of your life stronger for it."

Years after her diagnosis, and by then on the faculty of Johns Hopkins, she decided to tell the story of her manic depression. It was a difficult decision, in part because "I was brought up pretty WASP-y," she said. "You didn't talk about your problems." Jamison also knew that going public would mean no longer treating patients: "I felt very strongly that a patient has a right to come into your office and deal with their issues and their problems, not what they perceive to be your issues and your problems," she said.

Her book would become a watershed.

"There were all of these science books about bipolar illness and there were memoirs by people who had written about their illness, but there was no one who had been able to stitch all of it together in the way that she did," said the writer Andrew Solomon, whose own approach to writing about his depression, in "The Noonday Demon," was influenced by Jamison's. She was, he noted, "the first person who was in the field of psychiatry who wrote about her own illness and the extended depths of it."

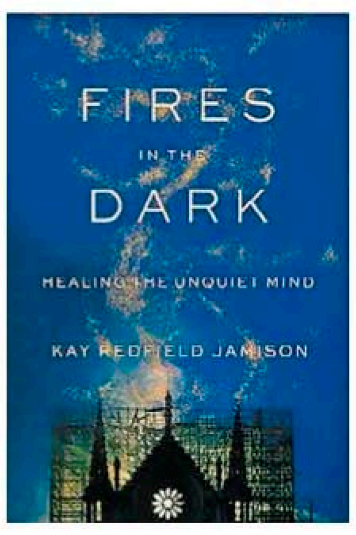
She also met with much rejection. When she went out on book tour, she received hundreds of letters expressing such sentiments as "May you die tomorrow," and "Don't have children, don't pass along these genes," she said.

"There are a lot of people out there who really don't like the mentally ill," she said. "It's wired into many species to be keenly aware of differences."

Still, "An Unquiet Mind" resonated for countless readers struggling with the same illness. Jamison's niece, the writer Leslie Jamison, remembers when her aunt came to speak to her freshman class at Harvard. "She was brilliant and witty and everyone adored her, but what I remember most clearly was this man who had been cleaning the building," she said. "He came up to her, really quickly, and said: 'I just want to tell you that your book changed my life.'"

She added, "It still gives me chills when I think about it, that sense that, beneath her fame and acclaim, there is this really powerful impulse towards human healing."

An "Unquiet Mind" unlocked Kay Jamison's life as a writer. Ever since, she has drawn explicitly from her own experience. In her book "Night Falls Fast," for instance, she writes about her own suicide attempt during a particularly bad stretch of her 20s.



The latest book by the psychiatry professor Kay Redfield Jamison, top, examines healers.

Now, in "Fires in the Dark," her emphasis is on "psychotherapeutics," which the English psychiatrist W.H. Rivers called "the oldest form of medicine." "I wanted to get back into psychotherapy — into thinking about it, and being emotionally involved in it," Jamison said.

Over lunch at her light-filled farmhouse in the countryside outside Baltimore, which she shares with her husband, the cardiologist Thomas A. Traill, and their basset hound, Harriet (named for Robert Lowell's daughter), the conversation turns to Rivers.

Born at the end of the 19th century, he trained and worked as an anthropologist before he served as an army doctor during World War I, treating the "shellshocked" soldiers. He didn't like the term: The problem was psychological trauma, not concussive shock, he would later argue. In time, the diagnosis would be known as post-traumatic stress disorder. Rivers believed that "to be a healer was to make a patient's 'intolerable memories tolerable,' to share in the darkness of the patient's mind," Jamison writes.

Rivers's best-known patient was the poet Siegfried Sassoon, whose vivid account of their sessions together had been lodged in Jamison's mind since her high school teacher gave her Sassoon's book. When Sassoon first met Rivers, in July 1917, the young poet had been diagnosed with "shell shock" after months of trench warfare and sent to Craiglockhart War Hospital in Edinburgh to recover. He met Rivers five minutes after arriving.

"He made me feel safe at once, and seemed to know all about me," Sassoon would write. "What he didn't know he soon found out." It was Rivers's job, as an army doctor, to heal him — and send him back to fight.

Their sessions aimed at "autognosis" — "to know oneself," as Rivers put it. Sassoon returned to the front that November. The following year, he was shot in the head but survived. Rivers went to see him in the hospital. "Quiet and alert, purposeful and unhesitating, he seemed to empty the room of everything that had needed exorcising," Sassoon later wrote in his semi-autobiographical book "Sherston's Progress." "This was the beginning of the new life toward which he had shown me the way."

Rivers is, for Jamison, an exemplar of a healer, a doctor who knew instinctively that "psychotherapy is a quest to find out who the patient is and how he or she came to be that way." She encourages her residents at Hopkins to take the time to question their patients about particular symptoms, to understand the meaning behind them, not just to check a box. If the patient has racing thoughts, "What does it feel like? What do you experience?" are questions in the service of a larger inquiry, she said. "Where have you been? How can I help you? How can I know you better?"

Along with Rivers, Jamison has included a swirling constellation of other healers, both professional and unofficial, including Dr. William Osler, the singer and activist Paul Robeson and King Arthur. It is a kaleidoscopic vision of treatment and recovery that reflects her own passionately varied intellectual life. But one through line in her book is the constant nearness of loss, of pain, of suffering.

Jamison has known, and described, her own suffering and loss, but most of all, her work is replete with the kindnesses she has encountered in her long experience struggling with, and thinking about, mental illness. She still remembers a conversation she had with the chairman of her department at U.C.L.A. not long after the manic break that first started her life as a patient.

His advice, as she recalls it, would shape her notion of healing and the rest of her career: Learn from it. Teach from it. Write from it.

MAYA PHILLIPS | THEATER REVIEW

Grief Is A Thing With Fur

Dealing with bereavement, and also with a puppet.

MARIA BARANOVA

From left, Paige Gilbert, Christopher B. Portley, Gayle Samuels, Donell James Foreman and Ashton Muñiz in "Demons," written and directed by Keelay Gipson.

WHEN DANILY, a red-furred, purple-lipped beast, appears onstage, his giant eyelids fluttering and huge maw flapping, he is irresistibly adorable, like something from Jim Henson's dreams.

And did I mention he's a demon?

In "Demons," presented by Bushwick Starr at the Connelly Theater, a family grieving the recent death of its complicated patriarch becomes the target of a haunting by a puppet ghoul, the unexpected star of an otherwise disorderly production.

The story begins when a family gathers for a funeral. The loud, combative Sissy (Paige Gilbert) and her brother, the reserved Bubba (Donell James Foreman), are home, their respective partners in tow, to tend to their God-fearing mother (Gayle Samuels) and to mourn their late father. Mama and Sissy are always fighting, and Bubba is forced to swallow his mother's homophobia, even in front of his partner (Ashton Muñiz). To top it off, Bubba must also contend with the death of a father who never recognized his son's queer identity.

Demons
Through June 3 at the Connelly Theater, Manhattan; thebushwickstarr.org. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

The play, written by Keelay Gipson, who also directs, is divided into five parts, based on the stages of grief. Each section consists of three scenes, showing the relatives chatting, watching TV, playing spades, all while struggling to communicate their real feelings to one another. When the family's unspoken secrets come out into the open, our demon appears to exacerbate the conflicts, watching with a pair of glowing eyes in the dark, or pulling poltergeist-like shenanigans during a late-night TV session.

You could say Danily is more human than the human characters around him (the fantastic puppet design is by Cedwan Hooks, and Jon Riddleberger directs the puppetry). Because otherwise, Gipson's two-dimensional direction leaves the cast's performances transparent. Mama, as the stern but loving matriarch, is a stock character, and Sissy is written unsympathetically and almost exclusively speaks in the tenor of a whine. Sissy and Bubba's partners aren't even named.

Minjoo Kim's lighting design, however, is impressive, from the angular splash of light strewn over white roses in a vase to the hazy spotlight over a character's face replicating the glow of a TV set.

But other production elements muddle rather than clarify the storytelling. The set design, by Yu Shibagaki, with its black-and-white floral couches and slate-gray textured walls, works for a funeral parlor, but it can't pull off doubling as Mama's home. And the television switches between channels depicting "The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air," "Labyrinth," a trailer for the 2001 movie "Kingdom Come" and then later a "Real Housewives" special, seeming to intentionally nod to several different decades and making the setting unclear.

By the end, at least one character has faced his demons, literal and figurative. As for the play, much still bedevils it.

A Film Is Flipped To Touch Its Soul

Martin Scorsese remade a Leonardo DiCaprio true-crime story into something darker.

By KYLE BUCHANAN

APPLE TV+

Robert De Niro, left, and Leonardo DiCaprio in "Killers of the Flower Moon," based on a book by David Grann and scheduled to hit theaters in October.

Films can take years to make, and at age 80, the director Martin Scorsese is aware he has a finite number of both films and years left.

"He's got many things in his head he wants to do, and I don't know that we'll live long enough to do them," his longtime editor, Thelma Schoonmaker, 83, said at the Cannes Film Festival on Sunday.

Because of that, anything Scorsese commits to has to be doubly worth it, the man behind classic films like "Taxi Driver," "Goodfellas" and "The Departed" said.

"I'm at an age now where everything I try, I want it to matter for me," Scorsese said. "It always did, but even more so now because we're just running out of time."

His latest film, "Killers of the Flower Moon," took around seven years to come together, Scorsese and his collaborators explained on a sunny Cannes terrace the day after the Apple-financed project premiered there to glowing reviews. (It will be released in theaters this October, then debut on the company's streaming service at a later date.)

Still, the finished film is very different from the one Scorsese and his star, Leonardo DiCaprio, originally intended to make: The material couldn't be cracked until they were willing to throw out every notion of what they first thought "Killers of the Flower Moon" should be.

The initial version was meant to be a gripping mystery like its source material, the nonfiction book by David Grann that follows the straight-arrow F.B.I. agent Tom White as he investigates a string of murders of Native Americans in 1920s Oklahoma. At the time, the Osage Nation is the country's most prosperous tribe; indeed, the discovery of oil on its land has turned its members into the wealthiest people per capita in all of America. But members of the Osage are regularly dying in suspicious ways, and even though the tribe has received pledges of help from the prosperous cattle baron William Hale (played by Robert De Niro), no one has yet been brought to justice.

White eventually uncovers a vast conspiracy that implicates not only the wealthy cattleman but also his nephew Ernest, who has married an Osage woman, Mollie, and stands to benefit if other members of her family perish, since their land rights will eventually make their way to his wife (and then him). This real-life twist is the revelation the book is building to, but when the screenplay by Scorsese and Eric Roth was structured in the same way, it never came alive.

"I think Marty and I just looked at each other and we felt there was no soul to it," DiCaprio said. "It was about an investigation, and I said to Marty, once you see De Niro as Hale, you're going to go, 'I think I know who did it.' What are we going to unravel?"

Instead of concealing those plot points, then, Scorsese and DiCaprio decided to lean in: Over the film's sprawling three and a half hours, they would let us in on the murders as soon as Hale and Ernest begin plotting them. And as the story gravitated toward those malevolent men, DiCaprio decided he would rather play Ernest instead of the lawman Tom White, a role Jesse Plemons ("The Power of the Dog") stepped in to fill.

"The tricky thing was to work against this cliché of white savior," Plemons said. After all, it's white people who perpetrated these crimes, too. But the subjects of his character's investigation have motivations that often appeared baffling, like DiCaprio's Ernest, so loving and attentive to his wife.

"It was one of the most twisted love stories I'd ever come across," DiCaprio said. "I can't even believe it myself that these two people were in love and stayed together."

De Niro still found himself at a loss for words when asked to unpack Hale, who goes out of his way to endear himself to the Osage Nation even while reducing its numbers. Did playing the role help him reconcile the man's tendencies?

"In some ways, no," said De Niro. "He's a sociopath. You don't know why he would love them and betray them in such a way." It wasn't simply about money, De Niro said: Hale had plenty of it already. "Greed is a real condition, but it seems like a simpler word than what has happened," he said. "Greed can make greedy people, but they don't behave like *that*."

So what was that additional motivation that led Hale and Ernest down such dark paths? When asked, Scorsese didn't mince words: It has to do with white supremacy, he said.

'It's about somebody not being from European culture, or white culture.'

"It's about somebody not being from European culture, or white culture," the filmmaker said. "Just 'not up to par,' and therefore, it's maybe easier to kill them. I mean, whoa! And I believe that's real thinking."

And it has plenty of contemporary parallels, Scorsese and De Niro said. At the film's news conference, De Niro spoke about the film's depiction of "the banality of evil" and said, "We see it today, and you know who I'm talking about, but I'm not going to say his name — that guy is stupid." Later, he couldn't help himself: "I mean, look at Trump!"

With Scorsese, I mentioned how Ernest's willingness to carry out his uncle's cruel orders reminded me of another film at Cannes, "The Zone of Interest," which follows a Nazi commandant and his family, who live next to Auschwitz and ruthlessly compartmentalize the atrocities carried out on the other side of their garden wall.

"What scares me is how easy it is for all people — well, I hope not all people, but most people — to fall into that," Scorsese said. "I've had a number of people say, 'No, I think everyone is capable of that.' I hope not. I wonder how I would act."

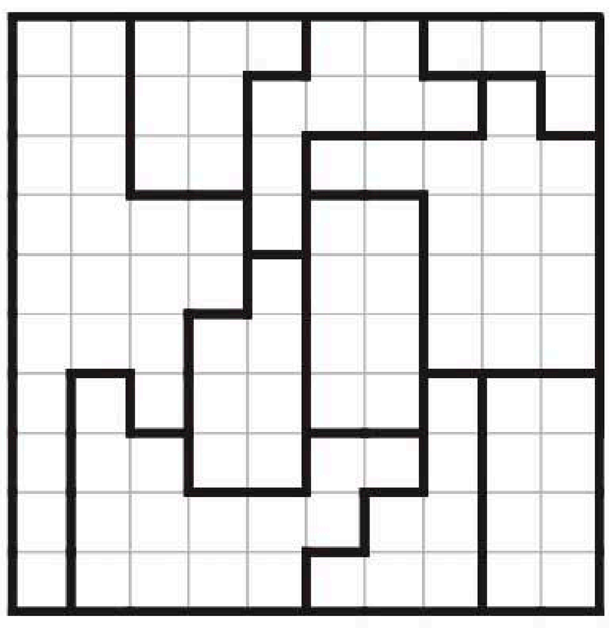
To broaden the film's perspective past these white men's malevolent deeds, Scorsese consulted extensively with the Osage to ground the film in their traditions and lived experiences. Already, "Killers of the Flower Moon" has provided an awards-worthy breakthrough for the Native American actress Lily Gladstone, who plays Mollie, Ernest's wife. She more than holds her own against DiCaprio and De Niro with her sly smiles and formidable center of gravity, and after the film's premiere, cameras in the theater captured tears filling her eyes in a moment that went viral online.

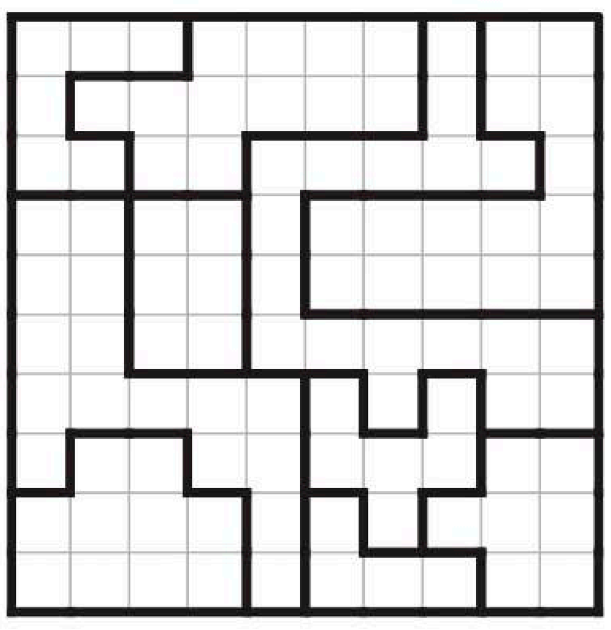
On the terrace at Cannes, I asked her about it. "You mean the moment where you can visibly see me tear up and break down and try to shoo it all away," she said, "and I turn around and Cate Blanchett and I are locking eyes — my favorite actress since I was 15?"

Gladstone said she felt a lot of things in that moment, but what she could sense most of all was that the applause, in large part, was for Mollie, a character who grew in importance as Scorsese kept revising and shaping his film.

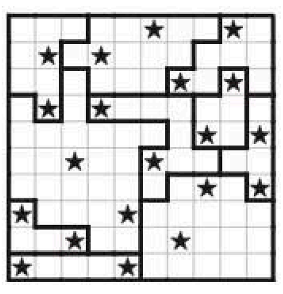
"I was grateful that the audience saw Mollie the way they were supposed to, and the way they should have," she said. "It was an affirmation of what fine storytelling this is. What people thought would be an impossible feat is the story we were able to do."

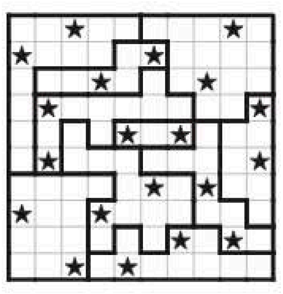
Two Not Touch





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES





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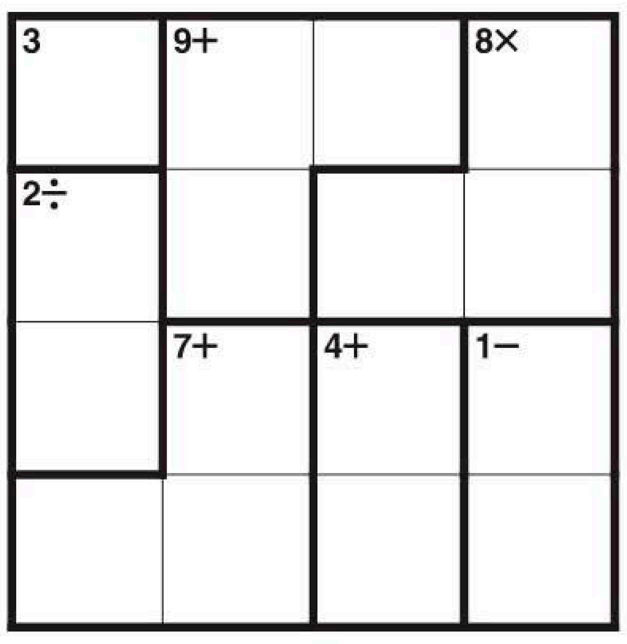
Cryptogram

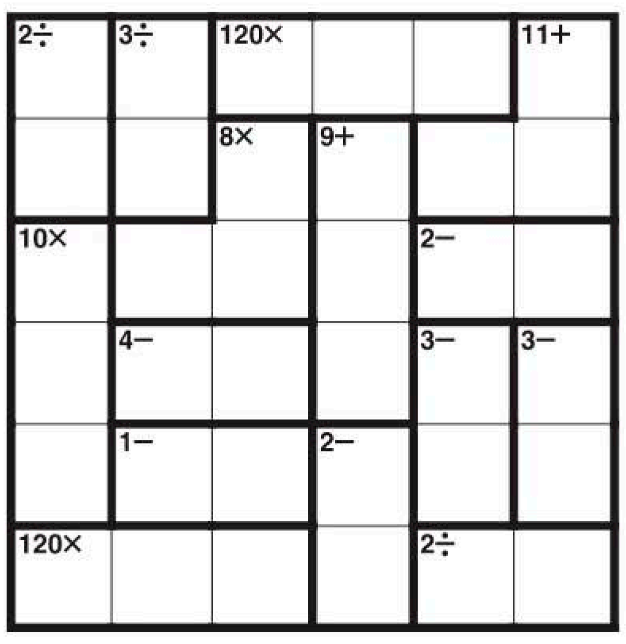
J FGTH G IVGLD QDKNJCI GBB FZ LGQR VHBGRJKCQDJLQ.
JR DGT GC "HA" GAJQ GCT G "NDZ" GAJQ.

PUZZLE BY BEN BASS

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER 1. Relax, axiom 2. Panda, daisy 3. Tough, ghost 4. Fancy, cynic 5. Taboo, oomph

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

4	3	2	1
1	4	3	2
3	2	1	4
2	1	4	3

4	6	3	5	2	1
6	4	5	2	1	3
3	5	1	4	6	2
5	1	2	6	3	4
2	3	6	1	4	5
1	2	4	3	5	6

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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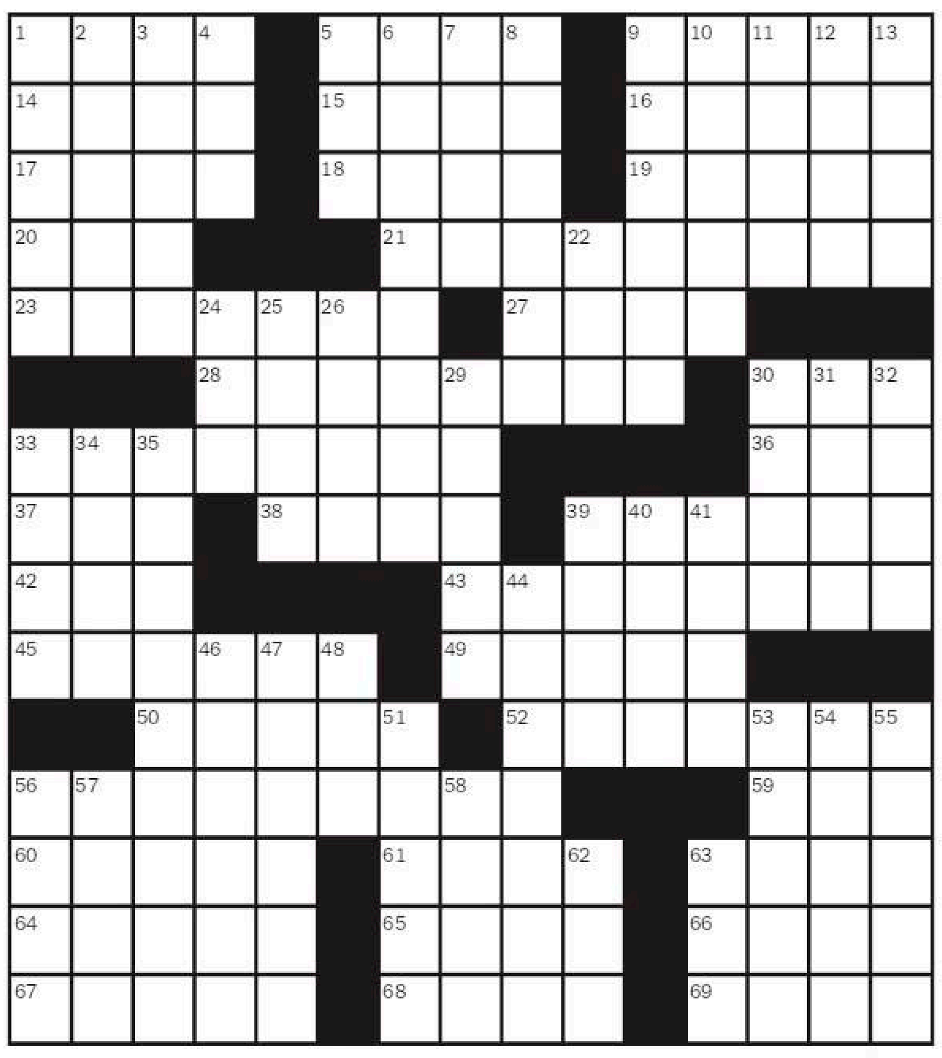
Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY ANDREW KINGSLEY AND GARRETT CHALFIN



5/25/23

ACROSS

1 Wows
5 Food ___
9 Exercise that incorporates ballet, yoga and Pilates
14 Not daring at all
15 "Our treat"
16 ___ gas law (pV = nRT)
17 *Dogs that can run up to 35 miles an hour
18 –
19 It's fit for a queen
20 Gmail alternative
21 Secretly unseal, perhaps
23 Pronoun heard in "Hamlet" and "Richard II," appropriately
27 Establishments for facials and waxing
28 *Electrical current converter
30 –
33 Option at many bike shops
36 French 101 word with three vowels
37 Freestyle, maybe
38 Piece in the game Othello
39 Fabric for some formal table linens
42 Commonly torn tissue, for short
43 American charges
45 *Country composed of over 7,000 islands
49 –
50 Religious scroll
52 "Since that's over with ..."
56 Staff
59 Geological span
60 Act as an usher for
61 *Lacking seriousness, as an attitude
63 –
64 Chihuahua, for one
65 Nickname for Letitia
66 Nike competitor
67 Syrian strongman
68 Brand of coolers and insulated drinkware
69 Obsolescent film format

DOWN

1 Like much of Europe beginning in 1939
2 "Yippee!"
3 ___ Greene Balch, American humanitarian who won the 1946 Nobel Peace Prize
4 International Day of Peace mo.
5 "Good" or "bad" questioner
6 Bracketologists' picks, often
7 Animal crossing?
8 Eye up and down
9 JPEG alternative
10 "Ciao!"
11 *Show up again
12 Not well at all?
13 Flair
22 Satyajit Ray's "The ___ Trilogy"
24 Like the fact that Lance Bass sang bass for 'N Sync
25 Well-manored sort?
26 "Jojo Rabbit" setting: Abbr.
29 Rundown
30 –
31 Hit light-ly?
32 Chortles
33 Hip-hop subgenre
34 Allotment term
35 Certain soup ingredients ... or a homophonic hint to the answers to the starred clues
39 Bond's debut film
40 Not too many
41 Boom holder
44 "No, really!"
46 Banned book of 1955
47 Flattened, in a way
48 Tap one's phone, perhaps
51 Glad rival
53 What chests and waves may do
54 Saxophone-playing Muppet
55 From birth
56 She, in Sicily
57 National League expansion team of 1962
58 Writer Wiesel
62 Golden ratio symbol
63 Course goal

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

G	O	S	L	O	W		A	B	C		S	A	S	H
A	R	E	O	L	A		S	E	A		U	P	T	O
P	E	L	L	E	T	D	I	S	P	E	N	S	E	R
S	O	L				A	N	T		I	T	E	M	S
			B	A	B	Y		C	A	G	E			
	G	H	O	S	T	O	F	A	C	H	A	N	C	E
R	O	A	S	T	S		L	S	A	T		I	L	L
I	N	N	E	R		S	I	E		B	E	T	A	S
F	E	Y		O	M	A	R		C	A	R	R	I	E
F	R	U	I	T	O	F	T	H	E	L	O	O	M	
			C	U	B	E		A	L	L	S			
S	N	E	E	R		W	I	N				M	Y	B
W	A	K	A	F	L	O	C	K	A	F	L	A	M	E
A	P	E	X		A	R	E		M	A	L	I	C	E
B	A	S	E		O	D	E		P	A	C	M	A	N

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A Bold Volunteer On the A.I. Frontier Hears the Future

ELIZAVETA PORODINA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The singer and producer Grimes often tests boundaries. Now she's embracing projects involving artificial intelligence.

Grimes invited fans to use her voice to generate new songs.

By JOE COSCARELLI

Last month, when "Heart on My Sleeve," a track credited to artificial-intelligence versions of Drake and the Weeknd, became an unauthorized hit online, many in the music industry loudly fretted about the legal and creative risks to come. But Grimes, the producer and pop singer who has long been enthralled with visions of the future, saw opportunity.

For years, she had been dabbling with fledgling technology in the realm of generative A.I., using the imperfect tools available to create a lullaby; a set of meditations; a Grimes chatbot à la ChatGPT; and plenty of sci-fi and anime-inspired visual art with services like Midjourney and Stable Diffusion.

But the rapid mainstreaming of passable voice-emulating filters — tools that allow users to tweak existing vocals to sound like someone else, notably famous artists like Drake, Michael Jackson or Taylor Swift — struck Grimes as more than just a novelty. They could be a teachable moment, a source of inspiration and even a side business.

"I'll split 50% royalties on any successful AI generated song that uses my voice," Grimes tweeted to her more than one million followers, referring to the royalties for the recording itself; she clarified in an interview that the songwriter would be entitled to all profits from the composition, or publishing. "Feel free to use my voice without penalty. I have no label and no legal bindings."

Then, she and her team rolled out Elf.tech, easy-to-use software that aids producers and songwriters — amateur and professional alike — in making it sound like Grimes is singing their song. So far, there have been more than 15,000 vocal transformations using the tool, called GrimesAI-1, and more than 300 complete songs submitted for distribution to official streaming services with the help of Grimes's behind-the-scenes apparatus.

Daouda Leonard, her manager and one of the developers of Elf.tech, called it a moment "when preparation meets opportunity." He added: "People are struggling with this, and it's obviously controversial. How do we showcase what's possible?"

Over a recent Zoom call, Grimes — who has two children with the entrepreneur Elon Musk — discussed the project, musing that her out-of-body celebrity status and longtime obsession with A.I. have combined to make her the perfect vessel for experimentation. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

"Heart on My Sleeve" seemed like a tipping point. What was that moment like for you, as someone who has been playing around in this space for years?

I was excited pretty much in every way, even with people talking about the risks. I love A.I., but I am kind of worried that this isn't more of a discussion, so I think it was really useful. And I was excited that we could definitely get access to this technology now, because we tried to make the Grimes voice five years ago and it kept just being not quite there.

Where does your journey with A.I. start?

Honestly it began when I was a kid, which is weird maybe. We were going through my old college sketch pads last year and we found a bunch of A.I. theory. I've always been talking about this; it just wasn't possible before. But I started getting into the possibilities of art a bit before the crypto times. That's when we were trying to open-source Grimes for the first time — 2018 or 2019.

What does it mean to "open-source" Grimes?

I'm really interested in the art of identity. We tried to sell my soul — 10 percent of it — in a legally binding agreement. But no one cared, and also it's at a ridiculously high price that no one will ever buy — like $10 billion. But if they do buy it, then I accept my fate and it'd be worth it.

Only one person you know can afford that.

Yeah, I don't think he's going to pay for that. But my soul is already gone. I've already *completely* lost control of the Grimes narrative. Like, I'm accused of war crimes all the time.

So how do you go from that to open-sourcing Grimes musically?

I feel probably less pain than the average person would about such things, because the amount of ego death that I've had to go through in order to even just continue being functional is pretty high. The sort of weird, icky feeling a lot of people get when they hear their voice being used in a way that they did not intend — I'm just subject to more crazy press than the average person. I'm so used to it.

Grimes started because I was in a very punk scene and it seemed edgy to put on a pink dress and dance around and make pop music. Part of what I was interested in doing at the time was upsetting people. Even now, what are the boundaries? What is the Overton window of art? What is allowed?

How would you explain to, say, your grandmother, what you're doing with A.I. now?

People keep getting really upset, being like, "I want to hear something that a human made!" And I'm like, *humans made all of this*. You still have to write the song, produce the song and sing the vocal. The part that is A.I. is taking the harmonics and the timbre of the vocal and moving them to be consistent with my voice, as opposed to the person's original voice. It's like a new microphone.

How was the tool trained?

It was trained on stems of my voice. Some dry vocals [without effects], but it would definitely be better if I would send it some vocals with less reverb. I wish we had more. We don't have anything old, which is tragic. But I didn't understand that was useful to keep back then.

How are you confronting the idea that somebody could make a hateful or obscene song in Grimes's voice?

The good thing about the music industry being so against this is that it seems pretty easy to strike things down. But I also think it's good for there to be one edgelord moment. With regards to making A.I. more safe and more culturally productive and helpful, it's good to get things out of the system when they're least damaging and least popular. I sort of don't mind if Grimes is the mechanism.

Where would you personally draw the line?

I think slurs, hate speech, advocating violence that's clearly not in jest. Conveniently, no one's really done anything bad, and I sort of feel like it's not even that exciting to.

Do you think that Drake A.I. or Grimes A.I. negates the need for real Drake or real Grimes?

No, I don't think so. Maybe for me, but I kind of want that. Feeling really amazing from making beautiful art is something that has typically been behind a gate for a lot of people — extreme amounts of time and energy, years of technical training. I think it's valuable that there's a tool with which, if you have a beautiful idea, you can make a beautiful thing and access that.

Straight From the Source

Grimes also provided her thoughts on five tracks created with the GrimesAI software.

KITO FEATURING GRIMESAI

'Cold Touch'

The chorus hook is really good. I could probably be convinced that I worked on it — that would not shock me at all. Especially when the techno comes in. It was immediately very euphoric and very Grimes-y in a really pop way. I would change a lot about the verses, and I'm probably going to do my own version. But I like that she feels really strongly about her artistic vision and wants to stick to it. That's why we're doing Kito's Version and Grimes's Version, using the Taylor Swiftian nomenclature.

RAVI PARIKH FEATURING GRIMESAI

'Friend v. Enemy'

The drop is so sick. It's just fun someone put my name on it, because it's a really good song. I think the vocal doesn't sound like me at all, but I can tell why: The singer is exceptionally different from how I sing. She's enunciating really well, she's got a lot of vibrato and she might even have an accent or something. You can tell Kito tried to sing like me in the hook, in a really breathy way. This person did not, and it gives credence to the human behind the thing.

OTTERLYMUSIC & SÄFIRA FEATURING GRIMESAI

'Concept of Creation'

I love this one; it's probably my favorite. I think it's the best depiction of something I would very much make, even down to the production and this image. It really feels like Grimes is self-replicating. It's so organic and Celtic around the hook, but so A.I. in the verse. She's even doing my lisp.

NICK WEBB FEATURING GRIMESAI

'Ether'

I love how weird this song is; it sounds really inhuman. You can hear the A.I. My favorite music is Vangelis because it sounds so early synth. You can hear the technology very profoundly. What I like about the early A.I. stuff is that you can hear the technology very profoundly. I think people will appreciate that more in five years when they realize people only made stuff like this for a couple months.

KOTOMI FEATURING GRIMESAI

'In Another Life'

These lyrics drive me crazy. It's really good besides that. "Scream out your name" — anything that feels bordering on sexual makes me really uncomfortable. That's where I can sort of relate to other artists' itchiness — lyrics causing me mild knives in the back of my brain. But I also appreciate the feeling of being uncomfortable.

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Your daily guide to theater

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Actress Says Her Cannes Job Was 'A Little Too Emotional'

Michelle Yeoh recalls her time on 2002 awards jury.

By KYLE BUCHANAN

Before Michelle Yeoh was introduced as the guest of honor at the Kering Women in Motion dinner in Cannes, the festival director, Thierry Frémaux, reminisced about Yeoh's first visit to Cannes, in 2002 when she was invited to be part of the jury that decided the Palme d'Or.

Since Yeoh recently navigated an awards season that culminated in her best actress Oscar win for "Everything Everywhere All at Once," I stopped by her table on Sunday to ask if that Cannes trip two decades ago gave her a formative perspective on handing out awards.

Yeoh brightened. "We were just having a conversation about this!" she said, referring to her table mates, who included the actors Brie Larson and Paul Dano, members of this year's Cannes jury.

Yeoh said that back in 2002, not long after her hit "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon" was released, she had little idea of what she was getting into when she accepted Frémaux's invitation to join the jury. "It is very intense, because you're watching two or three movies a day, and the movies are not lighthearted," she said. "Sometimes they are three hours long and not always easy to process."

Though the president of her jury, David Lynch, proved to be a steadying force on the group — "David is always calm, and it set the tone," she said — the experience of watching films like Gaspar Noé's harrowing "Irreversible" and the Holocaust drama "The Pianist" (which won the Palme) was more fraught than Yeoh expected: "A couple of us felt kind of emotional toward the end, where you feel as an artist yourself, you are processing what you're watching and going through these roller-coaster rides."

She exhaled at the memory. "Whew! It was a little too emotional. At that time, I was still maybe too young and had not enough experience," Yeoh, now 60, said, "but since then, I don't think I've agreed to do another jury."

Could anything persuade her to come back? I floated one tantalizing hypothetical: What if Frémaux offered her the position of jury president?

"If Thierry asks me to do anything, I'd do it," Yeoh said. "That is a very simple answer."

Michelle Yeoh at the Cannes film festival.

The Kering dinner proved to be a fun night for the actress, who later stood on her chair to dance with Larson as a saxophonist played nearby. But Yeoh told me that the soiree that most mattered to her recently was a Hong Kong dinner celebrating her Oscar win and attended by some of the Asian film luminaries she got her start with, like Chow Yun-fat and Donnie Yen.

"The most important thing is you have to acknowledge where you came from," she said. "Coming from Malaysia is one thing, but my career really started in Hong Kong, where I learned the craft and began my journey. So it was important to go back and tell them how much they had meant to me over the years."

They've all remained friends, she added: "You know how sometimes, you don't have to call each other every day or see each other all the time if you are true friends?" She smiled. "You just pick up where you left off."

Why We Still Want To Be in Interrogation Three Decades Later

The crime drama 'Homicide' debuted in 1993. Creators and stars discuss its influence.

By SAUL AUSTERLITZ

For television historians amateur and professional, the easiest place to begin the story of the contemporary Golden Age of Television is on Jan. 10, 1999, when Tony Soprano first paid a toll on the New Jersey Turnpike. But perhaps we might be better served to rewind the clock by about six years, to Jan. 31, 1993, the night of Super Bowl XXVII. The Dallas Cowboys demolished the Buffalo Bills, 52-17, and the broadcast was followed by the premiere of a new NBC drama, set in Baltimore, studying the work of the city's homicide detectives.

The series was called "Homicide: Life on the Street," and it was based on a book by David Simon, then a Baltimore Sun reporter who had spent a year tagging along with the police department's homicide squad. Post-Super Bowl premiere notwithstanding, "Homicide" was never a ratings success, but it stayed on the air for seven seasons, winning four Emmys and three Peabody Awards. The show was prickly, funny, morally forceful, endlessly discursive and filled with a murderers' row of actors, including the future stars Andre Braugher (who won an Emmy for his performance as Frank Pembleton), Melissa Leo and Giancarlo Esposito, along with veterans like Ned Beatty, Yaphet Kotto and Richard Belzer, known primarily then as a stand-up comedian.

The show's fifth episode, "Three Men and Adena," which first aired in March, was a stark, dramatic example of what made "Homicide" different from other cop shows. (In the DVD release, the episode is sixth.) It takes place almost entirely within the confines of an interrogation room, with the detectives Pembleton and Bayliss (Kyle Secor) attempting to wring a confession out of Risley Tucker (Moses Gunn), an itinerant fruit-and-vegetable man, after the murder of a little girl named Adena Watson. Pembleton and Bayliss prod, provoke and rage, but "Homicide" refuses to grant the audience the resolution they crave. Tucker doesn't crack. Adena's case is never solved. (The showrunner, Tom Fontana, won an Emmy for writing the episode)

Thirty years later, Fontana, the executive producers Barry Levinson and Paul Attanasio and the actors Andre Braugher and Kyle Secor reflected on "Three Men and Adena," in particular, and on the broader legacy of the series and their frustration at its still not being available to stream. These are edited excerpts from conversations with them.

After Levinson, a Baltimore native who set films like "Diner" and "Avalon" in the city, read Simon's book, he knew he wanted to adapt it. But he thought TV would be a better venue. He hired Attanasio to create the series and write the pilot, and he eventually brought in Fontana to run the show.

TOM FONTANA I said, "I'm not really sure I want to do a cop show." And Levinson said: "This is about the homicide detectives. They're thinking cops. There's no gun battles, there's no car chases." And I said: "That's impossible. I'll do it."

BARRY LEVINSON I thought it ought to be done completely in Baltimore. We can do it really down and dirty and lean. Instead of shooting 35-millimeter film, we'll shoot in Super 16 and with hand-held cameras.

FONTANA I think I've read David's book more times than I've read any other book in my life. By the time we were done, we'd used everything in the book, including the commas and question marks.

PAUL ATTANASIO I built Frank Pembleton out of the idea of a character who didn't want a partner. And then Kyle's character, Bayliss, was a more functional, more conventional television character who was the rookie, so you could use him as a guide to bring you into the show.

FONTANA Our premiere was after the Super Bowl. NBC was very jazzed about that. I said to Barry: "After the Super Bowl, everybody's drunk! This isn't a show you can watch drunk."

ANDRE BRAUGHER The first year, there was a sort of Jean-Luc Godard jump-cut sensibility that we enjoyed.

FONTANA I said to Barry, "You know, I'd love to write an episode that basically only takes place in the interrogation room." And he said: "Let's just try it. Let's try everything."

KYLE SECOR I went in and met them. Within a couple minutes, they said, "The sixth episode we're going to do, it's just going to be three guys in an interrogation room. It'll be you, your partner and this other character." And I went, "Oh, well, I'm in."

FONTANA The real girl who was murdered in Baltimore, that the Adena Watson story was based on, her murder was never solved. I made a decision that we would never solve the murder on the show because we felt like it would be disrespectful to the family and to the young girl's memory.

SECOR We had rehearsals before shooting, which was a comfort. Andre and I had spent a lot of time in that room, and it felt like that was our room. We had control of that room.

BRAUGHER We performed it like a theater piece. There's nowhere to go. It's a strangely shaped little room with a door and a window. So it's just three men going around and around and around again.

FONTANA We are asking the audience to watch this hour of intense interrogation and then not give them the solution they were hoping for. That was satisfying for me, as well, because I didn't want it to be all neat and tidy at the end.

ATTANASIO I think what's really brilliant about that script is, it's one thing to say you're not to give the audience what they're looking for. But then the question is, what *are* you going to give them? And what Tom gave them was heartbreak. And irresolution.

ERIC LIEBOWITZ/NBC, VIA GETTY IMAGES

MICHAEL GINSBERG/NBC; VIA EVERETT COLLECTION

Top, Kyle Secor, left, and Andre Braugher in a 1996 episode of "Homicide." Above, the director Barry Levinson (left with cap), Max Perlich (right, with camera) and Clark Johnson (far right) on the set.

FONTANA I knew the rhythms of Andre and Secor. And I knew that it had to have twists and turns, and that eventually, Tucker would start indicting them. I knew going in that was the way it would travel.

ATTANASIO It's not just good like bran cereal is good for you. It's electrifying. You can't take your eyes off it. And all it is, is three actors in a room.

BRAUGHER It's the most fun I've had filming an episode. It was physically hard, it was emotionally taxing, but it was very satisfying.

At the end of the episode, Bayliss takes the photograph of Adena from the interrogation room and places it on his desk, where it remains for multiple seasons.

SECOR When I met Tom Pellegrini, who was the detective that I was based on, I got Bayliss immediately as someone where being unable to solve this case affected his entire life. Affected his marriage, affected relationships, affected his job, affected how he saw his work, everything.

FONTANA If you're going to track a character over the life of a series, you need to see the stuff that he or she accumulates. There was an episode where he puts the picture in a drawer. He was sort of like, "I have to get past this now."

'They're thinking cops. There's no gun battles, there's no car chases.'

BRAUGHER That's one of the beautiful things about the episode. It doesn't resolve in favor of our heroes. The moral frustration in the entire series is that Adena Watson's murder is never solved.

FONTANA My career has been an endless number of shows that I'm proud of that never were in the Top 10, starting with "St. Elsewhere."

ATTANASIO Don Ohlmeyer [then NBC's West Coast president] loved the show, as long as they could make it for a reasonable amount of money.

BRAUGHER When I think back to that initial group, that first- and second-year group, it was a wonderful cast and boy, were we quirky. Boy, were we misfits, and I loved it.

ATTANASIO I met somebody once, and she told me her husband had a "Homicide" room in his house. He had a chair, and he had a TV, and every Friday night he would go in and watch that show. And it was the only show he watched. Does that matter to me more than ratings? Yes!

BRAUGHER I looked with amusement at "NYPD Blue" and all those other shows that began to incorporate all the techniques that we had, dare I say, pioneered for television.

LEVINSON For the last four years, I've tried to get an answer for why we're not on streaming. No one, I mean no one, has been able to give me an answer. There's money to be made. You can't figure out how to handle whatever rights issues that may come up? You're talking over 120-some episodes. Somehow no one can figure out how to handle the rights? That doesn't make sense!

SECOR Who knows? Maybe we'll start streaming on Netflix!

MIKE HALE | TELEVISION REVIEW

Asian American Culture Gets the Disney Treatment

Based loosely on the graphic novel of the same name, a series loses some of its novelty.

CARLOS LOPEZ-CALLEJA/DISNEY

In the show "American Born Chinese," starring Ben Wang, center, the traditional family story is the strongest feature.

American Born Chinese
Streaming on Disney+

WHEN IT CAME OUT 17 years ago, Gene Luen Yang's graphic novel "American Born Chinese" was singular in several ways: for its focus on everyday Asian American characters; for the way it used Chinese mythology to amplify and deepen its story of immigrant anomie and identity; and for the collagelike, stop-and-start manner in which it told the story. It was, perhaps, more worthy than exciting, but both its novelty and its seriousness made it stand out.

The eight-episode Disney+ series "American Born Chinese," very loosely based on Yang's book, premiered on Wednesday in, if not a different world, then in a very different pop-culture environment. Its Asianness is notable but not novel; two members of its cast, Michelle Yeoh and Ke Huy Quan, won Oscars in March (and a third, Stephanie Hsu, was nominated) for "Everything Everywhere All at Once," the latest landmark in the Asian or Asian-themed film-music-television wave. That the list of writers and directors for "American Born Chinese" is almost entirely Asian is, in 2023, an expectation rather than a surprise.

All of which is a long way of getting to the point that while "American Born Chinese" offers a number of things you could expect — a textured depiction of first- and second-generation immigrant suburban life, a flashy incorporation of characters from the classic Chinese novel "Journey to the West," a critique of Hollywood's history of racist depictions of Asians — those things no longer define, or delimit, the experience of watching it or thinking about it. The operative word here isn't American or Chinese but Disney. And the fusion that matters the most isn't the one between East and West but the entirely commercial one between high school dramedy and martial-arts-inflected superhero action.

So the somewhat disappointing report is that after 17 years, "American Born Chinese" is an entirely typical half-hour teenage comic-drama-supernatural adventure series. On the good side, the family at its core — the teenager Jin Wang (Ben Wang) and his parents, Christine and Simon (Yeo Yann Yann and Chin Han) — are sensitively drawn and given excellent performances, and the naturalistic parts of the story that focus on their home life and Jin's struggles at school often have humor and a quiet but sure emotional pull.

That the traditional family story is the show's strongest feature makes sense given that Kelvin Yu, who created "American Born Chinese," is a longtime producer and writer for "Bob's Burgers," the Fox animated comedy that for more than a decade has been the funniest, sharpest, sweetest show on TV about the American family.

On the down side are the elements of the show that reflect the tripartite structure of the graphic novel. They're assembled with polish and cleverness, but they're not as imaginative or compelling as they would need to be to kick the series out of its better-than-average groove.

The mythological plot, a modern sequel to the Monkey King's story in "Journey to the West," has been incorporated fully into the present-day story and normalized, in Disney-Marvel fashion, as an alternately jokey and violent best-friends adventure with plenty of special effects, martial-arts wire work and creature makeup. The Monkey King's son, Wei-chen (Jim Liu), comes to earth on a quest that involves Jin; the supernatural story points are skillfully but not very inventively tied into the usual teen-drama checklist — pep rally, pool party, big game — leading to a loud "save the high school" finale.

Well-known performers like Ronny Chieng, James Hong, Hsu and Jimmy O. Yang play gods and demons, but the characters are broadly drawn and hard to enliven, even in a nearly episode-long sequence set in heaven and styled as a Shaw Brothers Hong Kong epic. Only Yeoh, wielding her preternatural charm and agile humor as the goddess Guanyin, makes much of an impression.

Also wedged into the series — presumably standing in for the conceptualized section of the graphic novel that featured a shape-shifting character provocatively named Chin-Kee — are scenes from an invented, decades-old sitcom starring a heavily stereotyped, Long Duk Dong-like Asian nerd (played by Quan). This element eventually breaks out of its show-within-the-show confines and emerges into the story proper, making explicit the series's otherwise more subtle points about racism and stereotyping. But it does so in a mannered and self-conscious way. (The series as a whole feels as if it were carrying out a Disneyesque balancing act when it comes to racism; in Jin's high school experience, aggressions are continually portrayed as a result of cluelessness rather than bigotry or anger.)

Easy to watch but just as easy not to watch, "American Born Chinese" strives to charm you in ways that may work or may make you wince from their familiarity. Asianness is indicated by gags — deftly delivered — about saving soy sauce packets and not loading up on rice; Teresa Teng pops up on the soundtrack when sentiment is called for. What it demonstrates most clearly is that in the contemporary marketplace, coming-of-age clichés move easily across cultural boundaries.

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A Composer Who Finds Herself at Home in Nature

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

coming personality, rousing energy and torrents of joy — not to mention an infectious groove.

"I always assume," Cabezas said, "that anybody who listens to her music will be her next biggest fan."

Growing up in Berkeley, Calif., Smith studied piano and violin, and at 8 — even earlier, if you ask her mother — began to write music of her own to figure out how it all worked. But she kept it secret, convinced that what she was doing was strange, even embarrassing. She didn't know anyone else like her.

It took encouragement, as well as music theory lessons, from her teacher at the time to keep going. Smith was inspired by the composers whose works she was learning: Mozart, Bach, Haydn. Her own pieces, though, didn't resemble theirs, if only because, she said, "I didn't know how to sound like that."

Once, she wrote what she thought was a Mozartean duo for violin and piano, until she heard two classmates play it. "But that," Smith said, "encouraged me, because it was this puzzle to figure out how to make the idea match the result."

Other influences entered her brain, mainly Bartok and Joni Mitchell. And she received a boost from Adams. He remembered a quiet teenager who arrived at his house with a "staggering" number of pieces, all polished with plastic spiral binding. "I was impressed," he said, "that she obviously had this incredible determination at a young age."

Smith wasn't just determined in music. She also loved nature and became interested in environmental issues around the age she started composing. At 12, she started volunteering at a research station in Point Reyes; the people there told her that they had never been approached by someone so young, but they gave her a try. For the next five years, she banded birds and bonded with local biologists. She even got her mother on board.

At 17, she started at Curtis in Philadelphia but missed the West Coast. "I was so homesick," she said, "that it sort of forced me to reckon with not only who I was as a composer, but as a person. I infused all that into the music, and that's when my music started to sound like me."

Smith is soft-spoken. But as a composer "she fills up the whole room," said the violist Nadia Sirota, who has performed her music and collaborated with her and Cabezas as a producer on the "Lost Coast" album. "She knows exactly what she's talking about. And when someone has clear ideas, it's just about realizing them."

As Smith continued to write, Adams clocked that her sound was quickly maturing. He saw a sensitivity to the natural world that, he said, "goes all the way back to the 'Pastoral' Symphony." And he could tell that, for performers and audiences alike, it would be fun. Cabezas has certainly felt that way: "You don't lose a sense of what music should be, but at the same time there's optimism, quirkiness and humor."

In "Tumblebird Contrails," a piece that Adams and Deborah O'Grady, his wife, commissioned through their Pacific Harmony Foundation, a Point Reyes hike is translated into music of muscularity, amazement and delight. Similar adjectives come to mind for other scores, such as the quartet "Carrot Revolution," an immediately engrossing work of pure excitement.

'I try to put in all the emotions, but joy is the one I care most about.'
GABRIELLA SMITH

These feelings, Smith said, come naturally: "I try to put in all the emotions, but joy is the one I care most about. It's the joy that I experience from the natural world and, honestly, the joy of making music."

Smith's titles tend toward the playful. Sometimes they can seem nonsensical, like "Imaginary Pancake," a piano solo written for Timo Andres. But that was inspired by a memory from a childhood summer music program where she was impressed by an older boy who was playing something with his arms stretched to both ends of a keyboard. She asked him what it was, and he said Beethoven.

As an adult, she tried to find that music but couldn't; she realized that her memory had exaggerated it until it became something else. So she composed based on the inspiration of an imaginary piece. And "pancake"? That's the image of a player leaning over the keyboard with arms outstretched, flat like a pancake.

Now living in Seattle, Smith remains involved in environmentalism. She bikes instead of drives, and is working on an ecological restoration at a former Navy airfield. There is some anger about the state of climate change in her music, like the song "Bard of a Wasteland," but even then the rhythms suggest underlying optimism. "It's so easy to slip into despair," she said, "but there are all these people around us working on this in incredibly joyful ways. We need to feel the things we need to feel and grieve the things we need to grieve. Then we need to go on."

There is determination, too, alongside awe in "Lost Coast." The album version was made in Iceland, over multiple sessions that layered Cabezas's playing with a few contributions by Sirota and singing by Smith, based on her compositional method of recording herself on Ableton software. "She creates music in space," Sirota said. "It's almost like she's molding clay."

For the concerto version, Smith adapted her singing into more traditional lines for winds and brasses. But it wasn't a one-to-one transfer; many sections were heavily changed, and she also added a cadenza. "There are some wild parts that she rewrote," Cabezas said. "It fits the orchestral aesthetic a little more, and she's found some places where that works even better."

Smith wants to further integrate the environmental and musical sides of her life. Her next piece — for the Kronos Quartet's 50th anniversary, with a preview coming to Carnegie Hall in November ahead of its full premiere in January — will include interviews she made with others working on climate solutions. But she is still figuring out how to do more.

"I can write music, but that feels like the first step," she said. "A lot of it feels like uncharted territory. But everybody, in every field, needs to do this."

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALEX WELSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gabriella Smith, left, and above with Gustavo Dudamel, the Los Angeles Philharmonic's music and artistic director. He will conduct the premiere of her cello concerto "Lost Coast."

SIOBHAN BURKE | DANCE REVIEW

Rites of Spring Made More Nuanced for Today

Dada Masilo's 'The Sacrifice' is a profound response to a 1975 work by Pina Bausch.

OVER THE PAST DECADE, the South African choreographer Dada Masilo has become internationally known and respected for her bold, socially conscious adaptations of canonical ballets like "Giselle" and "Swan Lake." With her current touring production, "The Sacrifice" (2021), she responds to source material that is a bit more contemporary but carries just as much historical weight: Pina Bausch's "The Rite of Spring," which Bausch choreographed in 1975 to Stravinsky's groundbreaking 1913 score. (The music originally accompanied Nijinsky's earth-pounding modernist choreography, a pairing that caused a riot at the ballet's Paris premiere.)

In a program note for "The Sacrifice," which opened at the Joyce Theater on Tuesday, Masilo explains that she first encountered Bausch's "Rite" as a student at the Performing Arts Research and Training Studios, or P.A.R.T.S., the prestigious Brussels dance academy. She describes feeling intrigued by the ballet's rhythmic complexity and wanting to explore its themes of ritual and sacrifice through Tswana, a dance form of her own heritage, traditional to Botswana. "I want to create a story that is deeper than a chosen maiden dancing herself to death," she writes.

Bausch's "Rite" is known for its bracing, uncompromising brutality. After its New York premiere in 1984, critics commented on its utter grimness; Anna Kisselgoff, writing in The New York Times, and Deborah Jowitt, in The Village Voice, both used the phrase "no promise of rebirth." It ends with the sacrificial virgin falling to an unequivocal death. Lights out.

"The Sacrifice" tells an impassioned but more nuanced, winding story — if not necessarily a deeper one — riding peaks and valleys of joy and mourning, dotted with humor. In place of Stravinsky's score is music by Ann Masina, Leroy Mapholo, Tiale Makhene and Nathi Shongwe, gorgeously performed live by all but Makhene, and with the addition of Mpho Mothiba. Their compositions take cues from "Rite," particularly in Mapholo's startling violin and Mothiba's invigorating percussion. But they also go their own way, with a warmth that emanates especially from Masina's formidable singing.

The 65-minute work begins with a solo for Masilo, topless in a long, flowing skirt. Her slow trajectory across the stage contrasts with the rapid, searching motion of her arms, a kind of precise but agitated scribbling that will return again and again, reminiscent of the tangled tree branches projected as a backdrop.

A rush of energy follows the introspective opening, as more dancers arrive, joining together in full-bodied, undulatory movement that integrates the fast-paced, stamping footwork of Tswana. (The Joyce stage at times felt too small.) At one point they form a semicircle around Masilo as if to celebrate her. In the work's most lighthearted passage, they directly address the musicians, who play from corner at the front of the stage. "Why are you going so fast?" a dancer asks. "Can we please have an adagio, so we can breathe?" Masilo adds. It takes a few tries, but the adagio comes.

In this way and others, Masilo seems to be pushing back against the ruthlessness of "Rite." While she does play the role of a "chosen one," she doesn't go without a struggle, and her send-off is long and compassionate. Handed a white lily, she leaves it on the floor and exits. When three men in white later surround her, she falls into their arms but also pries herself away. Eventually, she is delivered into the embrace of Masina, who sings an anguished song while gently guiding her to the ground. The other

ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Steven Mokone, left, and the South African choreographer Dada Masilo in her work "The Sacrifice" at the Joyce.

The Sacrifice
Through Sunday at the Joyce Theater, Manhattan; joyce.org.

dancers, now also dressed in white, bow before her.

While emotionally resonant at times and full of beautiful dancing — Eutychia Rakaki and Lwando Dutyulwa gave especially vibrant performances — "The Sacrifice" often feels confused in its tone and structure. Masilo has spoken about her love of narrative, but the storytelling here lacks the dramatic stakes and piercing clarity that make other versions of "Rite," like Bausch's, so gripping. Perhaps that sort of comparison isn't entirely fruitful, though. Masilo set out to create something different, and in that sense, her "Sacrifice" is a success.

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2 WORDS TO LIVE BY

Matching a language with a culture. BY SANDRA E. GARCIA

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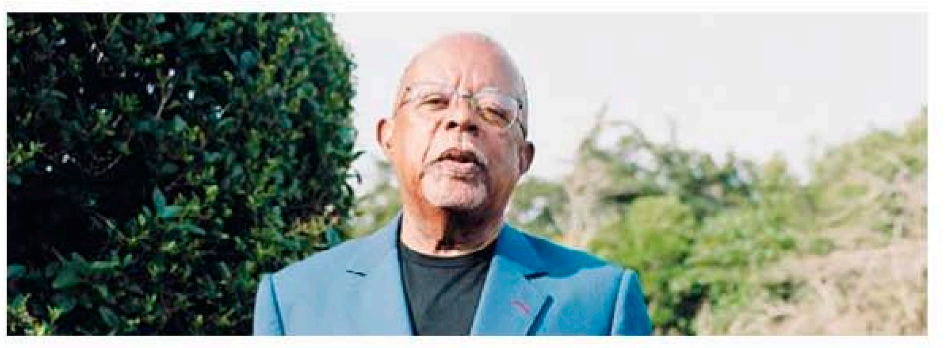
Jeff Bezos' yacht stands out on the sea. BY KEVIN KOENIG



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Young royals and their school of choice. BY ELIZABETH PATON

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ThursdayStyles
The New York Times

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SHOULD MAKING IT IN FASHION BE THIS HARD?

Elena Velez is transparent about the struggles of being a young designer.

BY JESSICA TESTA | PAGE 4

TAMARA BLAKE CHAPMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The fashion designer Elena Velez, 28, finds her inspiration somewhere between Midwestern grit and feminine aggression.

FACE FORWARD | RHONDA GARELICK

BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

On TV, Mary Tyler Moore presented a new model of an independent woman.

She Smiled and Doors Opened

A new documentary delves into Mary Tyler Moore's life and the hopeful feminism she stood for.

TO THOSE OF US who grew up in the wake of second-wave feminism, Mary Tyler Moore is a powerfully evocative figure. For this group, watching the HBO documentary "Being Mary Tyler Moore" may prove an emotional experience, conjuring nostalgia of two distinct types: the gentle sort involved in remembering a beloved star of the past, and a more painful nostalgia provoked by recalling a time when womanhood seemed to beckon with new, liberating possibilities and feminism seemed on a steady path forward.

In her most famous role, as Mary Richards on her self-titled 1970s television show, Ms. Moore offered a dazzling new model of female adulthood: a confident, beautiful unmarried woman over 30, who supports herself, wears fabulous clothes, finds fulfillment through work and friendship, and enjoys an active love life with no apparent anxiety about finding a husband.

As Rosie O'Donnell comments in the film, this image of a woman making her own way in life was "seared" into her brain. Katie Couric concurs, noting that Ms. Moore's example "opened my eyes to 'Wow, I want to do that too.'"

"Who can turn the world on with her

CONTINUED ON PAGE D5

10 Words From the African American English Dictionary

COLE BARASH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prof. Henry Louis Gates Jr., a scholar of Black history and culture, is the editor in chief of the Oxford Dictionary of African American English. One of his proudest possessions is a first edition of the Samuel Johnson dictionary.

An early look at a work made up entirely of entries created or reinvented by Black people.

By SANDRA E. GARCIA

In a recent online presentation, editors and researchers working on a first-of-its-kind dictionary of African American English gave a status update on the project. As academics explained their various methodologies, slides displayed behind them showed words that are more often associated with Twitter than Oxford: "Bussin," virtual attendees were told, means impressive or tasty, while a "boo" is a lover.

Those were two of the first 100 words that the Oxford University Press said it had prepared to include in the Oxford Dictionary of African American English, the hopeful result of the three-year research project announced last spring.

The researchers say they aim to publish a first batch of 1,000 definitions — some words and phrases will have more than one — by March 2025. But the more important goal of the project is to underscore the significance of African American English and to create a resource for future research into Black speech, history and culture. The work's editor in chief is Henry Louis Gates Jr., a scholar of African American history at Harvard University, who says he's something of a dictionary nerd.

"When I was in the third grade, we studied the dictionary," he said in a recent interview. "We had a unit on how to use the Webster's dictionary, and even then — third grade, that means I was 8 years old — I thought the dictionary was magical."

Professor Gates now collects and cherishes rare and historical dictionaries, including one he bought in the early days of the pandemic, when the future did not seem as sturdy as it once was.

"I was sitting here in this kitchen, sheltering in, doing a Zoom," he recalled. "I said: 'You know what? We could die at any time. I'm going to buy a first edition of the Samuel Johnson dictionary.'"

To support their etymological claims, researchers and editors from Oxford Languages and the Harvard University Hutchins Center for African & African American Research have drawn on lyrics from jazz, hip-hop, blues and R&B as well as letters, diaries, newspaper and magazine articles, Black Twitter, slave narratives and abolitionist writings. Individual entries will be explained using quotations pulled from Black literature, including examples from Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, Ralph Ellison, Toni Morrison and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

One of the main challenges for the researchers is finding Black sources to confirm the use of the words.

'We had to learn to speak the master's language, then you had to learn to speak *under* the masters.'

"The further back in history, the less we can find Black people having agency over how we're written about," said Bianca Jenkins, a lexicographer working on the project. "Due to enslavement, Black people were prevented by law from being educated, from being taught to read. Black people had to really take it upon ourselves and educate ourselves."

But it is not simply about the words that appear in letters, books, poems and lyrics. It is also about the words that morphed into other pronunciations and evolved to have a veiled meaning, for the safety of Black people, who take language and "wrap it around themselves," Professor Gates said. "They turn words inside out.

"We are endlessly inventive with language, and we had to be. We had to develop what literary scholars call double-voiced discourse. We had to learn to speak the master's language, then you had to learn to speak *under* the masters so that you could have a coded way of speaking English that would allow you to voice your feelings without being killed, whipped or — worst-case scenario — without being lynched."

The dictionary will exist as a living record well after March 2025 has come and gone: According to Professor Gates, the public will continue to be able to suggest entries for consideration even after the first edition is published. Professor Gates recalled asking his cousin, who fought in the Vietnam War, to add a few words. He submitted 200.

Last month, Oxford Languages and the Hutchins Center shared 10 entries with The New York Times. Below are selected definitions, variant forms and etymologies.

BUSSIN (adjective and participle): 1. *Especially describing food*: tasty, delicious. *Also more generally*: impressive, excellent. 2. *Describing a party, event, etc.*: busy, crowded, lively. (Variant forms: bussing, bussin'.)

GRILL (noun): A removable or permanent dental overlay, typically made of silver, gold or another metal and often inset with gemstones, which is worn as jewelry.

PROMISED LAND (n.): A place perceived to be where enslaved people and, later, African Americans more generally, can find refuge and live in freedom. (Etymology: A reference to the biblical story of Jewish people seeking freedom from Egyptian bondage.)

CHITTERLINGS (n. plural): A dish made from pig intestines that are typically boiled, fried or stuffed with other ingredients. Occasionally also pig intestines as an ingredient. (Variant forms: chitlins, chittlins, chitlings, chitterlins.)

KITCHEN (n.): The hair at the nape of the neck, which is typically shorter, kinkier and considered more difficult to style.

CAKEWALK (n.): 1. A contest in which Black people would perform a stylized walk in pairs, typically judged by a plantation owner. The winner would receive some type of cake. 2. Something that is considered easily done, as in *This job is a cakewalk.*

OLD SCHOOL (adj.): Characteristic of early hip-hop or rap music that emerged in New York City between the late 1970s to the mid 1980s, which often includes the use of couplets, funk and disco samples, and playful lyrics. Also used to describe the music and artists of that style and time period. (Variant form: old skool.)

PAT (verb): 1. *transitive.* To tap (the foot) in rhythm with music, sometimes as an indication of participation in religious worship. 2. *intransitive.* Usually of a person's foot: to tap in rhythm with music, sometimes to demonstrate participation in religious worship.

AUNT HAGAR'S CHILDREN (n.): A reference to Black people collectively. (Etymology: Probably a reference to Hagar in the Bible, who, with her son, Ishmael, was cast out by Sarah and Abraham [Ishmael's father], and became, among some Black communities, the symbolic mother of all Africans and African Americans and of Black womanhood.)

RING SHOUT (n.): A spiritual ritual involving a dance where participants follow one another in a ring shape, shuffling their feet and clapping their hands to accompany chanting and singing. The dancing and chanting gradually intensify and often conclude with participants exhibiting a state of spiritual ecstasy.

In addition to appearing in the Oxford Dictionary of African American English, the entries will also be added to the wider word bank of the Oxford English Dictionary, Professor Gates said. "That is the best of both worlds, because we want to show how Black English is part of the larger of Englishes, as they say, spoken around the world."

More than just a collection of words, Professor Gates said, the new dictionary will serve as a record of the ways Black people have molded English to protect themselves and also keep a morsel of autonomy in a world that would have them have none.

"Everybody has an urgent need for self-expression," he said, adding, "You need to be able to communicate what you feel and what you think to other people in your speech community.

"That is why we refashioned the English language."

A Schooner That's Fit for a Gazillionaire

Jeff Bezos' new boat, Koru, is 417 feet long, making it the world's largest sailing yacht.

By KEVIN KOENIG

Just in time for the high season of yachting in the Mediterranean, when multimillion-dollar megayachts descend on ports like Monte Carlo and St. Tropez, Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon, has been photographed with his partner, Lauren Sánchez, on his new boat, Koru, off the coast of Spain.

Mr. Bezos' vessel is a sailing yacht, a departure from the diesel-powered floating palaces popular with other billionaires. But it is still massive.

At 417 feet, Koru is the world's largest sailing yacht, according to Boat International, and it cost an estimated $500 million to build, Bloomberg reported. (Parsifal III, the boat featured on Bravo's reality series "Below Deck Sailing Yacht," is 177 feet long — less than half the length of Koru — and cost $18 million, according to the website SuperYachtFan.)

A spokesperson for Mr. Bezos did not comment for this article; neither did Oceanco, Koru's builder. Here is what to know about the boat.

The Design

For traditionalists, Koru is refreshing. At a time when yacht design skews outrageous — see the lizardlike, 262-foot Artefact or the otherworldly 463-foot Yas — Koru stands out as a schooner, a sailboat with two or more masts, typically gaff rigged sails and often a foremast that is shorter than the mainmast.

Photos reveal a large sailboat with three masts, an on-deck pool and, on the bow, a voluptuous mermaid that bears a resemblance to Ms. Sánchez.

But otherwise, the sleek, classic lines suggest the patrician age of yachting in the early 20th century, said Robert B. MacKay, the author of "The Golden Age of Newport Yachting: Between the Wars."

"With the clipper bow and the dark hull and the masts," Mr. MacKay said, referring to Koru's concave, pointy forward section, "it reminds me of a boat built in 1930 for J.P. Morgan Jr., Corsair IV. It is almost like a reincarnation. It's certainly at odds with the stuff the oligarchs are building; those look like bloated Clorox bottles."

Compared with the world's largest motor yachts — built for sheer size and the accompanying bragging rights — Koru could almost be considered quaint. Azzam, one of the world's largest motor yachts, is nearly 200 feet longer.

The Experience

Koru will be propelled primarily by wind.

"Sailboats are usually greener than most powerboats," said Don Anderson, a former captain of M5, the world's largest single-masted sailboat, at 256 feet. "I'd like to think that Koru will be one of the most ecological yachts out there, with its sails and also with the technology that will be aboard.

"When you're on a sailboat, you're more in touch with the wind and the waves than on a powerboat," he continued. "You're more susceptible to the elements, too."

Mr. Bezos has been a guest on similar boats, according to Bloomberg: In 2019, he was spotted on Eos, a 305-foot sailing yacht owned by Barry Diller and Diane von Furstenberg.

Bill Tripp, a naval architect based in Connecticut, said the appeal of this type of boat was clear.

"When you are on a powerboat, you ask, 'Are we there yet?,'" he said, "and on a sailboat, you're enjoying the ride and the ocean so much that you don't ask that question."

The Dinghy

Koru will be trailed by Abeona, a 246-foot support vessel. Superyachts often have support vessels following along. These "shadows," as they are colloquially known, are for the "toys" — the ATVs, supercars, seaplanes, motorcycles, smaller boats, scuba gear, personal submarines and even helicopters that pleasure boaters might bring on a trip. According to its builder, this model of boat can carry these gadgets along with dozens of crew members. (Ms. Sánchez flies helicopters, and the couple were recently photographed taking a helicopter to board Abeona and then Koru.)

Abeona, a motor yacht, will have enough range to follow Koru from the Mediterranean to the Caribbean — a common course for yachts — on a single tank of gas.

The Kerfuffle

Last year, before it was even completed, Koru set off a controversy in a face-off with the Dutch city of Rotterdam. The boat was built at Oceanco's facility in Alblasserdam, the Netherlands, and needed to pass the historic Koningshaven Bridge, known as "De Hef," in Rotterdam, to undergo testing in the North Sea.

When the city announced it would dismantle the bridge to allow the boat and its mainmast — an estimated 230 feet tall — to pass through unscathed, locals were angry. They planned a protest to throw eggs at the yacht as it cruised by. In the end, the bridge was not taken apart, and the yacht was towed to a different location to have its masts attached.

The Name

Koru is Maori for "coil" or "loop" and refers to the unfurling of a fern frond. The koru design is common in traditional Maori art, symbolizing new life, growth and peace. Mr. Bezos included a photo of a koru frond in an Instagram post on Jan. 1, 2022.

TOM VAN OOSSANEN

Unlike many megayachts, Koru will be propelled primarily by wind. It cost an estimated $500 million to build.

Brad Stone, who was the first to report on Koru, in his 2021 book "Amazon Unbound: Jeff Bezos and the Invention of a Global Empire," said the name was "consistent with where we see him today."

"He is no longer this single-minded tech guy," Mr. Stone said. "He's in media and Hollywood and has a new relationship."

People Places Things

HIGHLIGHTS FROM TMAGAZINE.COM

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID CHOW

From left: The hosts asked guests to bring mahjong sets; the Food Mahjong Club tourney, with Bella Janssens seated at right beside Dong-Ping Wong; there was plenty of food, including a croquembouche made of peach buns.

GAMES PEOPLE PLAY

Fierce Competition at an Office Mahjong Club

The idea for an office mahjong league came unexpectedly to Bella Janssens, the director of the architectural design firm Food New York, which has collaborated with Virgil Abloh, Axel Vervoordt and Manhattan's Museum of Modern Art. During a flight in 2021, as post-pandemic travel resumed, she felt inspired while watching "The Joy Luck Club," the 1993 film adaptation of Amy Tan's 1989 novel, wherein the intermingling stories of four Chinese women and their daughters unfold over rounds of the four-player tile-based game.

Mahjong originated in China in the 19th century, and has long been popular in Southeast Asia, Japan and America; it was brought stateside by a Standard Oil company representative returning from Shanghai in the 1920s. Ms. Janssens, who is from the Netherlands but grew up between Britain and Singapore, decided she and her colleagues should start playing after meetings or during lunch in Food's Chinatown office. Eventually, those pickup games grew into an amateur-friendly mahjong tournament the firm's founding director, Dong-Ping Wong, and Ms. Janssens have organized twice a year since 2021. Mr. Wong, born and raised in San Diego, had a typical second-generation immigrant's relationship to mahjong. (His parents are from Hong Kong.) "I played it once, probably with my grandparents and great-aunts, and my memory was that I won that game," he said, "and only 30 years later did I realize they were probably just [messing] with me."

The first Food Mahjong Club, in December 2021, was a scrappy affair. Mr. Wong and Ms. Janssens didn't prepare much besides buying some mahjong sets, designing a logo and sending out invitations to friends and collaborators in the design, fashion and art worlds. By the third iteration, last September, the ad hoc gathering had become a ticketed event at a defunct dim sum parlor within the 88 East Broadway Mall that benefited the community-building nonprofit Welcome to Chinatown and drew some 150 people. "A lot of our work is trying to engage the public in some way," said Mr. Wong, noting that "a dream project for the office would be to build out a community center in Chinatown."

The most recent tournament came together one weeknight in March, as a few dozen people gathered at Food's headquarters to learn the game, compete, then socialize — and eat dim sum — once most of them had inevitably lost.

Mr. Wong and Ms. Janssens have worked together for more than five years at Food New York, where Ms. Janssens handles operations and Mr. Wong leads design. After shepherding the game's novices toward beginner tables and introducing acquaintances to one another, Mr. Wong served as the tournament's M.C., counting down rounds ("Twenty seconds to choose a winner!") and guiding those who advanced to their designated tables. Mr. Wong's punctiliousness was a lesson learned from lingerers at the first Food Mahjong Club, when games went too long. "Now I'm yelling at people to 'Get up!' and 'Move over there!' and 'Finish your game!'" he said with a laugh.

This tournament began with 32 players. After a quarter- and semifinal round, the remaining four players (the creative strategist Brendan Chareoncharutkun, the producer Wei-Li Wang, the casting director Najia Li Saad and — completely coincidentally — this writer), played for a prize of a new mahjong set. Food Mahjong Club plays a Cantonese version of the game, in which players begin with 13 tiles and win by completing a 14-tile hand of four three-tile sets (called melds, similar to hands in poker) and one pair called eyes. Cantonese style is regarded as the easiest for beginners, as opposed to, say, Taiwanese style, which requires winning with a 16-tile hand and has more complicated scoring conventions. For nonspeakers, Mr. Wong and Ms. Janssens also designed cards that translated the Chinese symbols for numerical characters and necessary vocabulary. For the complete article, and a video on how to play mahjong, tmagazine.com. *JASON CHEN*

THE NEW YORK TIMES STYLE MAGAZINE

In addition to a larger buffet of street-food-inspired dishes, the club usually puts out lychee martinis, left, and an array of popular Asian snacks.

Where Future Monarchs Learn to Be Social Butterflies

UWC Atlantic College, a high school in a Welsh castle, draws royal children (and refugees).

By ELIZABETH PATON

The rolling green lawns of a 12th-century castle perched on a windy stretch of south Wales coastline usually dotted with sheep hosted not one but two kings of Europe last weekend.

The purpose of the visit by the royal families of Spain and the Netherlands was the graduation of their daughters from UWC Atlantic College, a high school housed in the remote St. Donat's Castle, once owned by the newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst.

Under unusually bright blue skies last Saturday, Princess Alexia of the Netherlands, 17, smiled in a white linen trouser suit flanked by her parents, Queen Maxima and King Willem-Alexander (a former Atlantic College student himself), in a photograph posted on Instagram.

Princess Leonor of Asturias, who is also 17 and the heir to the Spanish throne, wore a scarlet red button-down blazer dress with split sleeves as she posed for selfies with her parents and her younger sister, Princess Sofia, who is set to start there in September.

The scene was a reflection of how Atlantic College, which is part of the United World Colleges group, has become the school of choice for many young royals. It increasingly draws students who may have once gone to better-known places like Eton College in the shadow of Windsor Castle or Institut Le Rosey on the edge of Lake Geneva in Switzerland, considered the most expensive boarding school in the world.

Other recent alumni of the school, which educates students for their final two years of high school, include Princess Elisabeth, Duchess of Brabant, who is Belgium's future queen. She graduated in 2021 and went on to study at Oxford.

MATTHEW HORWOOD/GETTY IMAGES

FRANCISCO GOMEZ/SPANISH ROYAL HOUSEHOLD/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Left, UWC Atlantic College, a high school in Wales that attracts many children from royal families. Right, at the school, King Felipe VI and Queen Letizia of Spain flanked their daughters, Princess Leonor, left, who just graduated, and Princess Sofia, right, who will begin in September.

The British press has pondered whether the British royal family may break with tradition and send its own young heirs to the school, which has recently educated several future queens of Europe.

One Enduring Tradition: Discretion

Although UWC may have more of an updated atmosphere and curriculum than its more traditional counterparts, it does appear to subscribe to at least one very old — and very royal — convention: the art of being tight-lipped. The school did not respond to numerous requests for comment for this article and seems to mostly avoid speaking to reporters.

Tori Cadogan, the education editor of the British society magazine Tatler, said that the appeal of Atlantic College largely had to do with an optimistic ideology rooted in "deliberate diversity" and world peace. The school enrolls plenty of children of royalty and other wealthy families, but there are also a significant number of less privileged students.

Tuition is expensive: about $82,000 for the two-year international baccalaureate program.

Many students receive financial aid, however, including a significant cohort who are victims of war or refugees on full scholarships. Their applications go to the UWC national committee, which then assigns the students to Atlantic College campuses around the world, perhaps in Thailand, Costa Rica, Norway or the United States.

Last week, the Dutch royal family announced that Princess Ariane of the Netherlands, the third and youngest daughter of King Willem-Alexander and Queen Máxima, would attend the United World College Adriatic near Trieste, Italy.

Atlantic College opened in 1962 — the height of the Cold War — and the idea to make a diverse student body a priority came from Kurt Hahn (who founded Gordonstoun, the alma mater of King Charles III of Britain). He decided a new form of teaching, which emphasizes responsibility, internationalism and democracy, was needed to avoid another world war.

A statement on the school's website says the mission of the school is "to bring together young people from around the world to help create an atmosphere for peaceful coexistence between cultures and nations."

Leave the Rolex at Home

What, then, does a teenage princess do with her days at Atlantic? According to the "A Day in the Life" section of the school website, classes run from 8 a.m. to just after 1 p.m., with afternoons left open for community service at local hospitals and schools, as well as activities like kayaking, archery, gardening, working on the school farm or serving on the school's own lifeboat service. (According to the BBC, the widely used Rigid Inflatable Lifeboat was invented by students at the school in the early 1960s.)

Cellphone reception is said to be ghastly (most likely to the delight of teachers and parents). "E.D.W.s" (excessive displays of wealth) are banned, which means no expensive watches or designer gear.

Louise Callaghan, a former student who is the Middle East correspondent for The Sunday Times, wrote a column in 2018 about her time at the school. She said it forced many students to "get very used to being around, and getting along with, people who are nothing like you."

These included, she wrote, "refugees from West Africa, Brits from across the social spectrum, California hippies, religious Malaysians." Learning how to interact with such a diverse group, she said, "is a useful life skill — one, I imagine, you do not gain at a normal private school."

She also had a more lighthearted take on her time there. Atlantic College, she wrote, was a little like "a hippie Hogwarts."

Clinging to a Precarious Fashion Dream

The designer Elena Velez is candid about struggling to find the money to fuel her vision.

By JESSICA TESTA

Elena Velez held up her phone. A banking app showed the available funds in her business account.

It was Feb. 17. Earlier that week, she had held a runway show that earned her raves as an original voice in New York fashion; reviews from Vogue and others called her "urgent," "provocative," "delightfully deranged," a "rare talent." Three months before, she'd been named emerging designer of the year at the CFDA awards, the industry's version of the Oscars. Her deconstructed corsets and asymmetric dresses had made the rounds on celebrities known for their propulsive sense of style: Rosalía, Solange Knowles, Julia Fox. What more could a 28-year-old fashion designer want?

Well, money. There was $370 in her account. "And I made a $400 sale two hours ago," she said, meaning she had been in the red that morning.

That triumphant runway show, held in a Brooklyn warehouse, cost her company almost $40,000, she said, most of which came from her mother's retirement fund.

Her cash runway was "days," Ms. Velez said. "But it's always been that way. The ramp has been days for years."

She continued, "Even today, I was like: 'Well, this is it. We're pulling the plug.'" Then her publicist had told her someone claiming to represent Kanye West and his new wife were interested in buying some pieces. Ultimately they bought about $7,000 worth, Ms. Velez said.

She started her company in 2018, and lately these scattered windfalls have helped keep the business afloat. Orders placed on behalf of high-profile clients — like the stylist for Beyoncé's world tour — mean that Ms. Velez's outlook can shift from grim to manageably grim in the course of a day. Agree to host a branded party: small paycheck. Organize a sample sale: bigger paycheck.

Earlier this year, she was named a finalist for a prize worth up to $150,000 from Fashion Trust U.S., a new nonprofit. Ms. Velez was hopeful. Hours before the winner was announced, in March, she recited from a spreadsheet she'd made outlining how she might use the money: settle debts, cover new production costs, fund the next runway show, begin work on opening a factory in Milwaukee, her hometown.

But she didn't win. Ms. Velez smiled gamely at the awards ceremony but clapped her hands a little too tightly together, looked down a little too long at her untouched plate of roast chicken. Later that night, she won a different award of $25,000. Even then, she felt as if she'd lost.

"I'm in trouble," she said.

To sustain her business, to continue living and producing her designs in New York City, to convince herself that it was possible to succeed in fashion without money or connections — to just "be OK," as Ms. Velez put it — she needed more.

'A Heavy, Heavy, Heavy Burden'

Fashion is not an especially easy industry to penetrate. And making a living from it is even harder for young designers of color who don't come from privilege. Ms. Velez, whose father is Puerto Rican and who was raised by a single working mother, is certainly not the first to struggle.

But she is bringing new candor to the struggle. There is a game of humble gratitude and head-down perseverance that Ms. Velez declines to play, even as her star rises. After receiving her breakout award from the Council of Fashion Designers of America, she wrote on Instagram, "could y'all just stock me tho?" over a zoomed-in photo of her young son's face.

For those potential retailers, Ms. Velez does not make easily marketable hoodies or leather bags; H. Lorenzo and Ssense — the highest-profile places that stock her clothes — are known for selling more avant-garde designers. Her garments are unapologetically gnarly and technically chaotic: a skirt shaped like an "obeliskoid pillow" ($735), a cutout dress with "collapsing styling possibilities" ($1,475).

They are also produced in the United States, which is costly but core to her values. She dreams of building infrastructure for fashion manufacturing in Wisconsin, providing an alternative to New York and Los Angeles for herself and her local collaborators. The Midwest is her muse, but not for its farmland and lakes. She likes its sharper, rustier edges, the industrial yards and seedy truck stops.

Ms. Velez's mother, Holly Church, is a ship captain in Milwaukee, and Ms. Velez spent parts of her childhood accompanying her on tugboats and dinner cruises. That proximity to manual labor helped shape the Elena Velez aesthetic, which she has described as "anti-beautiful" and "unrefined." A 2021 collection titled "Vessel" used repurposed materials like boat sails and rigging line in slinky silhouettes.

"I have never been the female form of beauty that she wanted when she was younger," Ms. Church, 59, said by phone in April. "But then she began to understand that strength and beauty come in different forms."

Ms. Velez first started filling up notebooks with fashion drawings around age 5, Ms. Church said, and received her first sewing machine from a family friend at age 10. She took sewing classes at 12 (the instructor accepted only adults, initially, but Ms. Velez looked mature for her age, Ms. Church said). When she was 15, a local TV reporter described Ms. Velez as having "the talent and drive to be a world-class designer someday."

But for as long as she has wanted a career in fashion, Ms. Velez and her mother have been reckoning with its costs.

Ms. Church sold their family home to pay for Ms. Velez's tuition and fees at Parsons School of Design. To start her business, Ms. Velez said, she raised about $450,000 from a handful of investors, "which came and went in two years," she said. (Those investors have not given any additional money since.) There was a $50,000 award for being a CFDA/Vogue Fashion Fund finalist, a $25,000 grant for small brands at New York Fashion Week and a $20,000 donation from a family friend.

Lately, Ms. Velez has begun taking predatory loans she finds online. Ms. Church has opened several credit cards and waits tables in the winter to help with bills. She said she had given Ms. Velez about $25,000 from her savings and, more recently, another $25,000 from her I.R.A. account. That last sum went toward financing the February runway show, covering expenses like catering and fake nails and "all of these dumb things that you have to have to get written about on Vogue Runway," Ms. Velez said.

"My mom doesn't have a retirement fund anymore, and that's an awareness I have to confront and suppress every time somebody doesn't want to come to the show because 'It's too late at night,' or 'It's in Brooklyn,'" Ms. Velez said.

TAMARA BLAKE CHAPMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ILYA S. SAVENOK/GETTY IMAGES FOR TEEN VOGUE

NINA WESTERVELT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Recognition and buzz don't always yield tangible financial returns and may even mask hardship.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALBERT URSO/GETTY IMAGES

Top, the designer Elena Velez. Second row, from left: Ms. Velez, center, with Anna Wintour and Lindsay Peoples in 2019; and Ms. Velez, right, with Keke Palmer at the CFDA awards ceremony last year. Above, models in looks from Ms. Velez's runway show in February.

Yet there is no sense of regret from either woman. "I know that if she can find the financial footing, the rest is history," Ms. Church said. "She's worth every single ounce of energy to push her where she needs to go, so that other people can recognize what she has to offer."

The problem, Ms. Velez has learned, is that recognition — the buzz around awards, reviews and celebrity endorsements — doesn't always yield tangible returns. If anything, she said, it contributes to the idea that things are going well when they are not. And these metrics have not been easy for her to explain to venture capitalists.

"How many accomplishments do I have to collect, and how many co-signs and check marks does it take before people invest in helping me keep myself afloat?" Ms. Velez said, with an expletive or two. "Nobody's malicious. Everyone is just busy doing their own thing and assuming that you can take care of your own business, which theoretically, you should be able to do. But we can't deny that there's a lot of money in this space, and a lot of people who are playing are playing with their own."

While home in Wisconsin a few months ago, she said, she drove past an Arby's with a sign advertising a manager position for something like $20 an hour. It occurred to her that there was more stability in that job, even if her job's perks included an invitation to sit at the Balenciaga table at the Met Gala in May. Then she realized she was unqualified for anything but fashion.

"It's a heavy, heavy, heavy burden for me, and a lot of the people that I love," she said. "And I think that I could live a healthier, more sustainably paced life doing another thing."

'Crashing and Burning'

It's from this mentality that Ms. Velez sometimes jokes about going to work at Pumps, a strip club in Brooklyn. It's a raunchy flavor of humor from a woman who often makes references to her own inevitable cancellation — an edgy, uncompromising attitude that's either savvily authentic or a form of self-sabotage.

On Instagram, she has fought back against questions around size inclusivity, arguing it's not financially feasible for small brands, and posted about being "removed from the line" of a Met Gala after-party for causing a scene when her guest wasn't allowed inside.

Ms. Velez does not always engage in fashion's mutual back-scratching. Elle magazine recently named her one of its "women of impact," celebrating her at a Washington event with members of the Biden family. But when Elle asked to borrow an Elena Velez dress for a cover shoot with Karol G, the designer declined, in part because she didn't think the pop star aligned with the brand. (She prefers more "feral" girls, like Ethel Cain and Caroline Polachek.)

She has pointed views on "toxic femininity," a theme she plans to explore in her next collection, and was recently a guest on the "Red Scare" podcast, whose controversial hosts she has dressed. On the episode she answered questions like: "Who hates women more, women or gays?" and "Who's the bigger problem in fashion, women or gays?"

She has been critical of certain aspects of modern feminism, like the de-emphasis on motherhood — "it doesn't rub me the right way," she told Vogue — and once shared a clip on her Instagram of Jordan Peterson on "The Joe Rogan Experience" discussing women "turning university students into the infants they never had."

These views come in part from the clarity that being a mother has brought to her own life. She became pregnant with her son, Atlas, at 25. Her second child, Freja, is almost 1. She has their names tattooed in tiny print on her cheek and neck. This month, she married their father, Andreas Emenius, a 50-year-old Swedish painter with whom she shares studio space in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Greenpoint.

"All my friends back home have kids, they own real estate, and I come here and I'm like a teen mom," Ms. Velez said. "I feel very much like I have to keep the struggle of motherhood back-of-house. Nobody really wants to see it."

Still, she's often seen with at least one of her children nearby: napping on a couch at an industry cocktail party, sitting on her lap at a friend's fashion show, being rocked in a stroller by her side while she speaks on a Parsons alumni panel. She's been told, she said, that it's "such a cute P.R. stunt."

But Ms. Velez is also aware that her inability to pay people could be a much bigger problem than some of her more outspoken views. She has joked about someday getting hit with the "inevitable toxic workplace allegations."

In April, she estimated her debt to be about $90,000. Her creditors include factories that are starting to get mad, she said, but also people central to her team, like the designer Andrew Curwen, who is owed a few months' worth of invoices. He helped create some of her February show's most memorable pieces, like a bomber hoodie with bulbous, fungal-like quilted sleeves. (Most models in that show agreed to trade their services for exposure and clothing rather than be paid a fee.)

"I know that when money comes through, I will get paid," Mr. Curwen said, comparing working for Ms. Velez to working for Alexander McQueen in the early days (a company that was later sued for unpaid intern wages).

"She's not riding around in some Maserati," said Gregory Werbowsky, her publicist and a fellow Midwesterner who also hasn't been paid regularly — except in stained glass pieces made by Ms. Church.

Mr. Curwen pointed to Ms. Velez's transparency around the struggles of being a young designer as part of the value in being in her world. "I don't see what Elena is doing right now as just the beginning of her thing but as a movement in fashion in general," he said.

She is sharing resources, including more recently with paid subscribers on her Instagram. She is sharing her blunt anger, too, and sometimes it seems as if she wants to burn the whole system down, though she is quick to clarify she doesn't.

She is more interested in making an example out of her own "crashing and burning," she said, for the greater benefit of the system.

"There's never going to be a democratic American fashion narrative if the only people who can do it are, like, the coastal elites," Ms. Velez said. "I'm transparent because I don't expect it to be here that long. I want people to know this was an experiment to see whether or not it was possible to create a thriving fashion brand with these assets. So far, the answer is no."

"I'm going to sink with the ship one way or another," she said, "and just hope that kind of energy is attractive to people."

FACE FORWARD

She Smiled and Life Opened Its Doors

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

smile?" the show's theme song asked — a question answered with the opening montage of Marys — laughing with friends, strolling city streets and, of course, exuberantly throwing her tam into the air. Mary smiled at the world and it smiled back, welcoming this character into a big life extending far beyond the domestic realm.

"The Mary Tyler Moore Show" signified a transition in television roles for women, turning the page on all the dutiful wives and mothers, marriage-minded girls and those characters perpetually struggling to transcend their narrow lives: Lucy Ricardo (yearning for show business), Jeannie on "I Dream of Jeannie" (magical, yet living in a bottle and pining for a man) and Samantha Stevens on "Bewitched" (again, magical, yet confined to a suburban colonial).

Ms. Moore's career played out a version of that transition. She entered television right out of high school, as Happy Hotpoint, a dancing, leotard-clad pixie singing the praises of Hotpoint kitchen appliances on "The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet."

Then, as Laura Petrie on the "The Dick Van Dyke Show" in the 1960s, Ms. Moore loosened some of the typical sitcom wife's restraints: She danced and sang; she was funny; she had opinions; and, at Ms. Moore's insistence, she swapped out the usual June Cleaver-esque uniform of dresses, pearls and heels for sweaters, flats and pants that showed off her trim figure.

But as Mary Richards, Ms. Moore became an icon. She made "a feminist statement that got into my bones," Julia Louis-Dreyfus observes. The show's commitment to women was palpable, foregrounding women's friendships (Rhoda! Phyllis!), treating timely issues like contraception, pay equity and feminism, and — according to the documentary — employing more female writers than any sitcom had before.

The documentary frames Ms. Moore's life in the context of the women's movement, interspersing footage of feminist rallies, news stories about Roe v. Wade, and clips of Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan. But while Ms. Moore's TV self seemed fully in step with feminism, her personal life was more complicated. "She didn't think feminism was so hotsy-totsy," says Ms. Moore's close friend Beverly Sanders, an actress. "She identified with it, up to a point."

Unlike the boldly single Mary Richards, Ms. Moore had been married virtually her entire adult life. She wed first at 18 and had her only child, a son named Richard; divorced; and soon thereafter married the producer Grant Tinker, who masterminded her career and with whom she founded MTM Enterprises, her wildly successful production company. Ms. Moore admitted that she relied heavily upon Mr. Tinker's judgment: "I was very much a person who liked being directed and led."

Significant challenges affected her years with Mr. Tinker. She had a miscarriage and then, at 34, was diagnosed with Type 1 diabetes. She also battled alcoholism. In 1978, her younger sister, Elizabeth, died by suicide. Most painful perhaps was her distant relationship to her son, with whom she struggled to connect. Friends note that, offscreen, Ms. Moore could seem aloof and detached, unlike her onscreen upbeat self.

"The Mary Tyler Moore Show" ended in 1976, and Ms. Moore embarked on a new, Mary Richards-style chapter in her personal life, divorcing Mr. Tinker and moving alone to New York City. Professionally, though, she left Mary Richards far behind and turned her attention to theater and film, proving especially gifted at serious drama.

In 1980, Ms. Moore won a special Tony for her portrayal of a quadriplegic hospital patient in "Whose Life Is It Anyway?" She was nominated for an Oscar for her subtle performance in Robert Redford's "Ordinary People," as Beth, an emotionally closed mother grieving one son's death and coping with the attempted suicide of the other.

EARL THEISEN/HBO

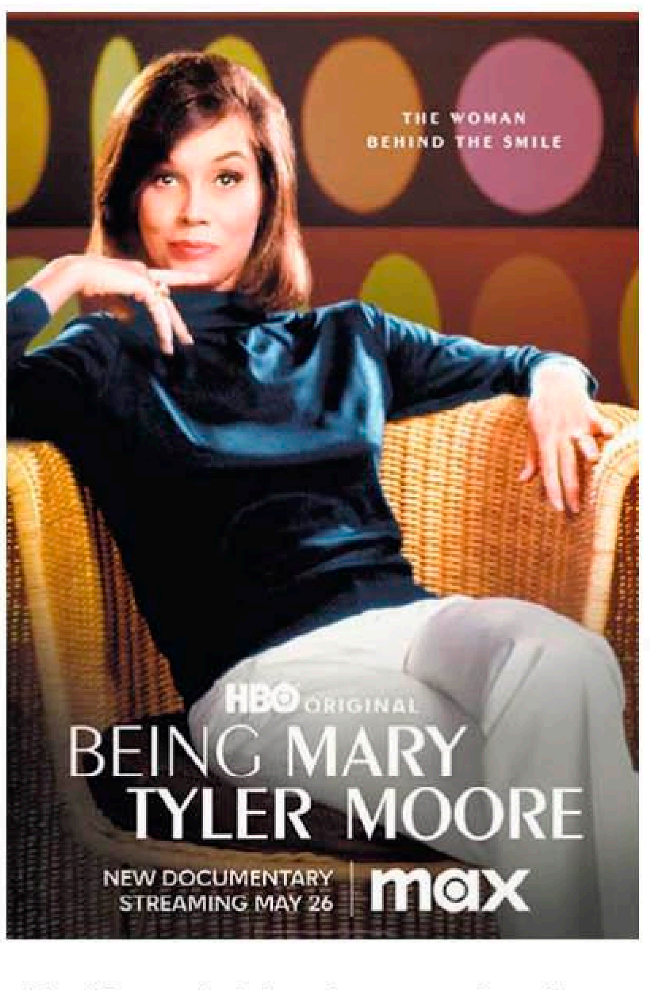
Mary Tyler Moore on the set of "The Dick Van Dyke Show," on which her character expanded the traditional image of a sitcom wife.

Ms. Moore saw Beth as "reminiscent of my own life" but could never have guessed how much like her life the film would turn out to be. Three weeks after its premiere, Ms. Moore's son, then 24, was found dead of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, which was determined to be an accident.

In subsequent years, Ms. Moore strove to break through her pain and emotional walls. In her late 40s, she married Robert Levine, a physician 18 years her junior who didn't know who Ms. Moore was when they met. The marriage lasted 34 years, the rest of her life.

In rehab, she learned 'it's not the end of the world if I'm not perfect.'

ROBERT LEVINE, VIA HBO



Ms. Moore, above, with her third husband, Robert Levine. An HBO documentary on her premieres Friday.

"She married a regular person," notes Manny Azenberg (the producer of "Whose Life Is It Anyway?"), and that regular-ness seemed exactly what Ms. Moore needed. Footage of the couple relaxing at their ranch provide the most moving and genuine images of the documentary, showing a makeup-free Ms. Moore running around in casual clothes, teasing her husband, tending lovingly to the horses and dogs she kept.

During that time, Ms. Moore found the strength to tackle her drinking. She checked herself in to the Betty Ford Center, an experience she described as "chiseling down to the real me" — the use of "chisel" suggesting just how unyielding the surface felt to her. While in rehab, she said, she learned "it's not the end of the world if I'm not perfect. I never really confided in people, and I never shared any of the ugly sides."

The confession was telling. Had the need for perfection been suffocating Ms. Moore? While surely her own life and past created much of her personality, what role did her career play in this? What damage is done to those, especially women, we turn into idols — even idols ironically of feminist freedoms?

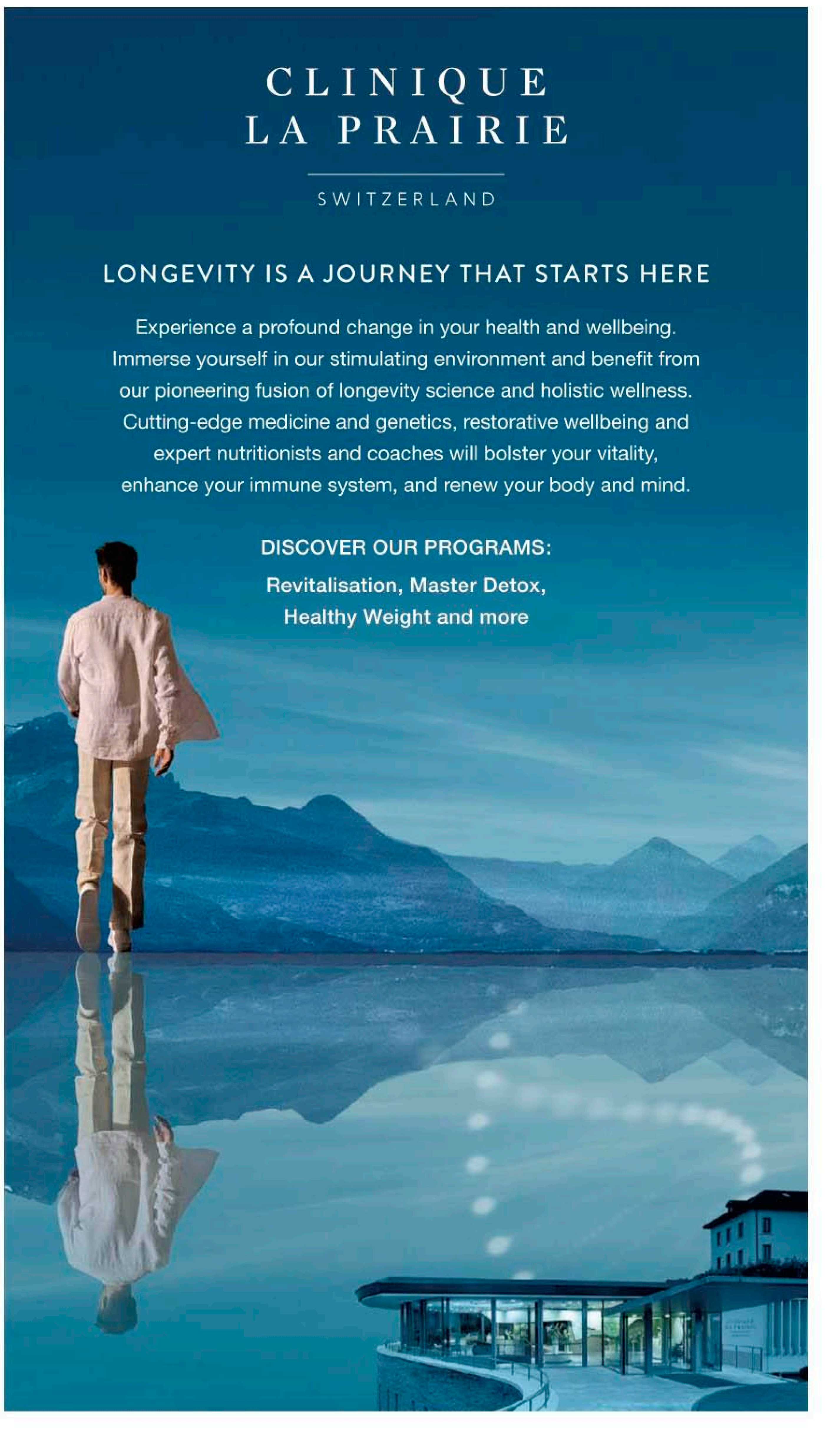
In one moving clip in the documentary, Ms. Moore makes a surprise appearance on "The Oprah Winfrey Show." Eyes brimming, slightly trembling, Ms. Winfrey rushes to embrace Ms. Moore. "You have no idea what you've meant to me!" she says.

Ms. Moore is warm and gracious. She most likely had a good idea of what she meant to all the former little girls and teenagers who had projected so much aspiration and ambition onto her, or rather onto a fictional character she played.

Being Mary Tyler Moore was never the same as being Mary Richards, but for millions of women the distinction is blurry. Maybe we need it to be. "Mary" was aspirational for many of us at a time that really mattered, at a crossroads in American women's history. Yes, she was unrealistic, idealized and still conforming to certain narrow parameters of beauty, class and race. But she was what popular culture offered us — and that mattered, a lot.

There are no on-camera interviews with living people in "Being Mary Tyler Moore." Most of those featured, including most of her TV castmates, have died (Ms. Moore herself died in 2017 at 80).

But even those still alive appear only as voice-overs, narrating footage from years ago. This grants the film a nostalgic preserved-in-amber effect, situating Ms. Moore's life firmly in the past. But it sets the world she represented firmly in the past too, reminding us that the historical moment when feminism's progress seemed assured has vanished. That inspires quite another type of nostalgia — and it hurts.



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